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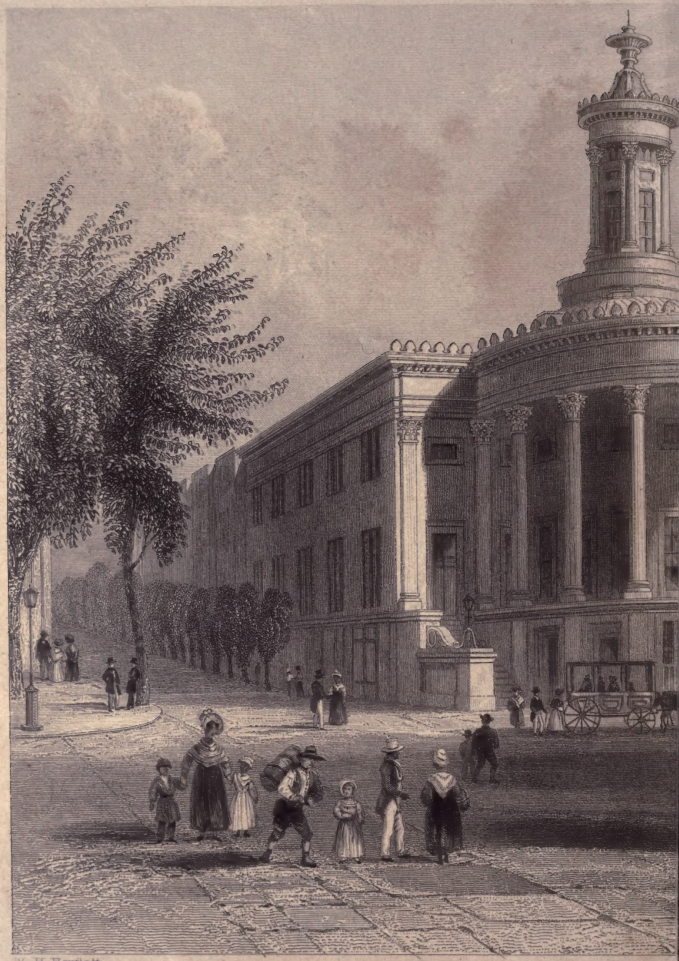

W. H. Bartlett.

THE EXCHANGE

PLATE VI.

S. T. Davis.

ND GIRARDS BANK.

lphia.)

THE EASTERN

AND

WESTERN STATES

OF

AMERICA.

BY

J. S. BUCKINGHAM, ESQ.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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AMERICA,

HISTORICAL—STATISTIC—AND DESCRIPTIVE.

EASTERN AND WESTERN STATES.

CHAP. I.

Americans neither penurious nor avaricious — Eagerness for wealth, as a means of enjoyment—Arts of decoy practised to obtain business—Reluctance to pay debts—Consequence of this, a state of universal embarrassment—Remedy for this, increase of population—Mode by which this could be accomplished—Working of such a measure of organized Emigration —Insignificant expense compared with extent of benefit—Increase of the slave trade—Colonies in Africa—Alarm at the increase of cotton grown in other countries—Example of Liberia—Commodore Elliott's visit to St. Domingo—Mockery of the American Colonization Society.

Of the great Atlantic cities of the United States, it is generally admitted that Philadelphia is the most regular and symmetrical in its plan, the most uniformly substantial in its dwellings, and the cleanest, neatest, and most commodious in its streets and squares. It may be added also, that of late it has begun to surpass most of the other cities in its public buildings, of which the United States Bank, built of white marble, in the best style of Doric architecture, after

the Parthenon at Athens; the United States Mint, also of white marble, after an Ionic temple on the Ilissus; and the still more beautiful edifices of the Girard College, all of white marble, in the richest style of the Corinthian order, after the best models of Greece—may be cited as examples. To these may be added some good specimens of commercial buildings, as the Exchange, with its semicircular projecting portico of Corinthian columns, and its circular turret or tower, which is an exact copy of the celebrated Choragic monument called "The Lantern of Demosthenes," at Athens.*

In no cities of Europe have there been expended so much, in proportion to the wealth of their inhabitants, on public buildings, as in those of the United States of America; and most of these have been erected, not at the expense of the legislature, but by the enterprise of private companies or individuals. The national desire, to equal at all events, and to surpass if possible, all the countries of the Old World in everything, is nowhere more strikingly manifested than in the popularity which attends every proposition for adorning their cities with public works. The consideration of expense is either wholly disregarded, or so lightly thought of, as hardly to offer any impediment to the immediate adoption of the most striking and attractive, though the most costly, of all the plans that may at any time be proposed by the different architects who compete for

* A view of this building, with the façade of the Girard Bank at the end of the avenue on the right,—and a perfect specimen of the tree-lined and shady streets of Philadelphia on the left,—forms the Frontispiece to the present volume.

their favour. The same recklessness of expense is carried into all the operations of private life.

The Americans are not a penurious people, and their passion for money is not avarice. They strive for its possession more eagerly than any other people known, and concentrate all their energies of body and mind towards the one great end of all their efforts, to acquire wealth; but it does not appear to be for the purpose of heaping it up, so much as of scattering it, as fast as it is acquired. It is spent freely, in the purchase of present gratification; and as a large house, fine furniture, and costly dresses for the female portion of the family, seem the first objects of every man's ambition, these are often procured on the speculative probability of being able to pay for them out of profits *to be* made, rather than out of gains actually *realized.* To accomplish this, a "great stroke of business," as it is called, must be done; and those who keep stores here, to supply the Western merchants as they come from the interior in the spring and fall, employ a set of clerks, who are qualified for the duty, to visit the hotels, inspect the register or list of arrivals, make the acquaintance of new-comers at the dinner-table, invite them to take wine, and always of the most expensive kind, (10 and 15 dollars a bottle, prices unheard of in Europe being sometimes paid for old sherry and madeira here,) treat them to the theatre, pay all their expenses, and then invite them to the warehouse or store on the next morning, to select the goods they require. In this eagerness to obtain customers, they often give credit to persons of whom they have no knowledge, beyond that acquired in a few hours of

such acquaintance as this; and, as might be expected, they are often deceived, and make bad debts that absorb all their profits; when they break up, and "clear out," as the expression is here, "for the Far West," from thence to carry on, upon some new adventurers in business, in other towns, the same practices as those by which they were themselves defrauded and made bankrupt by others.

From all this it results, that the code of commercial morality is continually growing more and more lax every year. Persons who really have the means of paying their debts, often delay doing it as long as they can, for the advantage which the possession of the money in their own hands gives them. Others, who have not the means, feel no difficulty in telling their creditors they must wait. There is no bankrupt law to compel a settlement; and it is not thought disreputable to be in debt. All the banks in the country, south of New York, have suspended payments in specie, or, in other words, declared their inability to pay their notes and obligations; and when asked to fix a time for resumption, the nearest time they attempt to name is a year distant from the present. Of course, what the richest classes in the community do without shame or reproach—put off the payment of their debts for a year and more—the less wealthy classes feel little scruple in doing, and justify themselves by the example of the banks; but as goods must be got off before they get out of fashion, and as present payment is neither thought of nor required, buying or taking upon credit goes on quite as briskly as if it had to be accompanied with payment; and thus,

the consumption of all kinds of fineries, in dress especially, seems to be even greater than usual. An instance was mentioned to me, of a house of business, dealing largely in such articles, having failed for 150,000 dollars ; and it was supposed that their stock on hand would sell for an amount that would pay 50 per cent on their debts ; but it was found that the articles were mostly of the last or preceding year's fashion, and no one would give 10 per cent of their first cost for them.

There are not in America, as in England, several grades or ranks of society, the first of whom alone consume the most expensive articles, the middle classes contenting themselves with less costly ones, while the lower classes look out for cheap bargains in remnants, and patterns that have gone by, while the utility of the articles remains the same. Here, all who have either money or credit, will have the best articles of every kind, cost what they may. The clerk or the shopman wears as fine English or French broadcloth as his employer, though he should be the richest merchant in the city ; and the clerk's or shopman's wife will have as fine silk or satin as the merchant's lady, though she may not be able to get a new bonnet and feathers quite so often, nor exhibit pocket handkerchiefs embroidered at 60 and 100 dollars each. She will be obliged to walk also, while the rich merchant's wife will ride ; and she cannot give elegant soirées and champagne suppers, though she will have her little balls and evening parties ; but in the matter of personal apparel, there will be scarcely any perceptible difference between the wife and daughter of the clerk at 1,000 dollars

a year, and the family of the merchant or banker, whose income should be 50,000.

These habits of universal extravagance and love of display, engendered by every one striving to be equal with those above them, are fatal to all economical husbanding of resources; and even here in Philadelphia, where the people have the reputation of being more careful and discreet than they are at New York, the individual and collective embarrassment of all ranks and classes is such, as that if the universality of this state of debt did not make every man forbearing to his neighbour, lest he should set an example of severity which his own creditors might follow towards himself, nearly every man would be under arrest, and the whole business of the community would be that of seizing, distraining, selling by writ of the sheriff, and winding up all men's affairs by an act of general insolvency. But as it is certain that if every one were forced to such a sale, who could not pay his debts, there would be few to buy, and nothing but dishonoured bank notes to pay with; the general sense of the community seems to be, that it is better to let things remain as they are, and trust to time and the chapter of accidents for amendment.

For myself, I see but one mode by which this evil could be speedily and effectively corrected; but unfortunately there is but little hope of such a mode being adopted, though, if it were, the remedy would soon work a cure. There exists in this State of Pennsylvania, wealth, in the bowels of the earth, and in the capacity of its surface, the former in mines of iron and coal, and the latter in soil of the

best description for cultivation, sufficient to yield a surplus, beyond the wants of the State itself, of 10 millions of dollars a year, for any number of years to come, for at least a century hence. All that is wanted to develope this wealth, and bring it to market, is population and skilfully directed labour.

The whole population of the State is not more than about 1,500,000, though it has an area of 30,000,000 of acres, of the best land in the world, with the most extensive beds of coal, and the richest veins of iron, that are known. Such an area, and such resources, could well sustain 5,000,000 of people, which could give 6 acres of surface to every individual, man, woman, and child; and deducting one-third for rocks, mines, roads, canals, rivers, cities, towns, and villages, which would be a large allowance in abatement, it would leave 20 acres of farming land to every family of 5 persons!

If the filling up of this space be left to the ordinary operation of time, it will take a century at least to accomplish, and it will be done by the least valuable part of the surplus or refuse population of Europe, who, driven by distress from their own shores, seek shelter on these, and often bring with them the reckless and dissipated habits which poverty and distress engender, before this last step is taken. But if, instead of its being left to accidental circumstances, and the slow operation of time, it were done by an enlightened and organized system, and effected in the space of two or three years, the resources developed even in that short space of time, would be amply sufficient to pay off all the public debt of Pennsylvania, relieve every

private individual's embarrassments, and be of incalculable benefit as well to Europe as to America.

To effect this, the co-operation of the principal nations of Europe might be made the subject of negotiation by the United States; because the old countries of Europe would be as effectually relieved by the emigration of a portion of their population, as America would be benefited by receiving an augmentation of hers. If this could be shown to be an object of great national concern, it would be as fit a subject for national expenditure as that of war, and attended with a thousand fold more benefits. The subsistence of the poor, in England, France, and Germany, whether by legislative provision or individual alms, and the expenses entailed on the community of each nation by the population being in excess above the means of profitable employment, cannot be less than 10 millions sterling per annum; while the United States loses much more than this sum of surplus wealth every year, for want of population to work her mines, till her lands, and bring her wealth to market. Here then is a case in which the Old World may be as much benefited by parting with its surplus population, as the New World would be benefited by receiving it; and if England, France, Austria, Prussia, and the United States would advance a sum of 4 millions sterling—only half the amount of what each now loses by the present state of things—here would be an aggregate fund of 20,000,000*l.* sterling, or 100,000,000 of dollars, to effect the transfer under such circumstances, as should secure relief to the nations, and benefit to the individuals, in the best possible manner.

England, as being the most maritime nation, might furnish the ships for transport: and a fleet of 500 sail of merchant vessels and coasters, fitted for such a service, would not cost so much as the equipment of the Mediterranean squadron to prevent the Pasha of Egypt and the Sultan of Turkey from coming to blows; and surely the relief of some millions of suffering people from want of labour, is an object of as great value as that. France, Austria, and Prussia, as abounding with cheap food and clothing, and implements of husbandry, might furnish all these, in depôts at their several ports. And the United States, the nation to be chiefly benefited by the influx of a good class of labourers and settlers, might furnish transport, free of cost, from the coast to the interior; while the general Congress and the separate States co-operating with each other in this great work, might furnish land, as they are doing in Texas, to invite settlers, at so many acres per head or per family, to all who would undertake the working of the mines, the clearing of the forests, or the tilling of the soil, on bond given by the parties, that if relinquished or abandoned at any time, they should again become the property of the State or Government, with all the improvements made on them. Less than 4,000,000*l.* sterling from each of the five nations, would accomplish all this, and it would therefore cost less than the war of the French with Algiers, or the suppression of the insurrection in Canada, or the war which has yet accomplished nothing in Florida.* The whole sum to be paid

* To which may be added, since this was written :—or the war in Affghanistan, and the Opium Crusade in China,—in which not less than £20,000,000 have already been wasted.

would not exceed the single amount paid to relieve the embarrassments of the planters in the West Indies; while it would not be the *tenth* part of the sum spent by England alone, in her unsuccessful struggle to prevent the independence of America, when these colonies first revolted against her power!

The benefit of such a measure to the old countries of Europe, would be worth five times the sum it would cost, in the relief it would afford to each, by lessening competition in every branch of labour, raising wages, improving the condition of all the working classes, emptying the poor-houses of all the healthy and able-bodied, lessening the number of beggars, who resort to this mode of subsistence because they have no work. It would also clear the old countries of many of their robbers also, who, if the channel were opened to them for honest labour, before they became too hardened and profligate, would many of them return to a better life; besides which, the expenses of poor's rates, almsgiving, soldiery, and police, would be proportionately reduced in every department; as such provisions and precautions would become, by the occupation of all the unemployed, less and less necessary.

The benefit to America would be immense. With her, population is in extreme deficiency. She has not more than 16,000,000 or 17,000,000 on a territory capable of sustaining 100,000,000, in the greatest comfort and abundance. Every increase to her population since the Revolution has been an increase of her wealth. She is in the condition of a large estate, belonging to a single proprietor, who has been obliged to let it lie uncultivated for want of hands. The soil is there for agriculture—the mines

are there for mining; while the sun, and rain, and air, are always ready to do their share in each of the processes. At first he engages a hundred men, by which a few of his fields are brought under tillage, and his income is made to give them wages and subsistence, and yield him a small surplus. He then lays this out in materials for mining, and engages a hundred men more; by this he opens beds of coal and iron. These yield him still more profit, so that he engages two hundred additional labourers—and employing them in cutting down his forests, he brings a large supply of timber to market, and makes fuel and building-materials abundant. More tillers are wanted, and these come, with grain for seed and cattle for pasture. And thus, every additional labourer employed on his estate developes additional wealth to its owner; and increase of population is increase of prosperity, till the utmost limits of the estate are filled up. It is exactly thus with America; and by such a measure as is here recommended, she would obtain more wealth in ten years, than by the ordinary course of events as they are now transpiring, left to chance and accident, and individual feebleness, she will be able to obtain in a century.

Let us see how the working of such a measure could be effected. A special embassy might first be sent by the United States to England, France, Austria, and Prussia, opening this subject, and proposing a Congress of ministers from each, at some central point; and many a Congress of Sovereigns has been held for far less important objects. The details being settled at such a Congress, the execution of

the plan would follow: — The several sovereigns would give notice, by proclamation, of their intention to facilitate the emigration of such of their subjects in every rank of life, as find it difficult to earn a competent subsistence, from the fulness of their profession or trade above the measure of profitable employment. They would then fix on certain ports in their respective countries, at which ships will be ready, in certain months, to take on board for America, and convey, free of passage-money, and with all provisions found, such persons as might desire to embark. They might also furnish to each who brought certificates from magistrates of their district, of their being honest, sober, and industrious persons, whose poverty was not the result of any indolence, intemperance, or crime, a supply of clothing for themselves and families for a year, and implements of husbandry or trade according to their calling. Magazines would next be established at such ports, to which the respective governments would cause to be conveyed, for such emigrants as might apply for passage, all the requisite materials of provisions, clothing, and tools. At the period fixed for this purpose, the ships of transport from England would repair to the several ports appointed in succession ; and all rendezvous ultimately at Brest, as the largest western port of Europe. They would sail across the Atlantic in a fleet of 500 ships, under convoy of a ship of war of each nation, for the preservation of order, discipline, and mutual security— and again rendezvous at New York. From this point, according to arrangements previously made by America for their judicious and appropriate dis-

persion, they might separate into divisions: one for Bangor, to supply occupants for the forests of Maine and New Hampshire—(Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, perhaps needing no supply); one to remain at New York, for passage to its interior; another to proceed to Philadelphia, for the back parts of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey; another to Norfolk, for Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina; another to Charleston, for South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama; and the last for New Orleans, to supply Louisiana, Mississippi, and all the great States of the West.

Now, the very same organization which collects and disperses expeditions and detachments for warlike operations, would effect all this with the greatest ease. To recruit emigrants for settlement in America, would be as easy as to recruit soldiers for India or Africa, or to force men by conscription into the army of France, or by impressment into the navy of England, and much less cruel. To fit up transports for conveying such emigrants would not cost more than to do so for regiments of troops. To provide provisions and clothing for farmers and artisans, would not be more difficult than to provide them for infantry and cavalry; and the ploughs, harrows, spades, and hoes of the farmer—the anvil, sledge, pincers, and vice of the blacksmith—or the axe, plane, hammer, and chisel of the carpenter, would not be *so* costly as the cannon, the mortar, and the bomb, the shot, the shells, and the gunpowder, the musket, the bayonet, and the sabre, of the well-furnished armament—to say nothing of the pay of the officers, the horses of the cavalry, and their

accoutrements—the military and medical staff—the bands of music, tents, equipage, and all the costly luxuries attending a multitude of devastators, when they are sent forth to kill, burn, plunder, and destroy! And on their arrival in the land of their future home, it would be just as easy to conduct them in safety to the forests of Maine, to labour for their own and the country's benefit, as it would be to march them there to kill the borderers in defending the frontier; just as easy to carry them up the Chesapeake to fill the plains and vallies of Virginia with golden harvests, as to destroy the archives at Washington, and set fire to the Capitol; just as easy, in short, to conduct them up the Mississippi, to drain the marshes of Louisiana, and clear the raft of the Red River, as it was to carry men there, as was done by General Packenham, to be shot down like birds from behind the cotton-bales, by the riflemen of Tennessee and Kentucky, under General Jackson.

It would therefore cost less money, involve less pain, and be attended with less difficulty, than any warlike expedition that has ever been set on foot by any nation whatever; and it would produce more good, by relieving Europe of its plethora of population, and assisting America by filling up its deficiency, than has been effected by all the wars that were ever waged between nations or men, from the days of the Queen Semiramis to those of the Queen Victoria.

The only arguments that could possibly be used against such a measure are these: first, that it is not the custom for nations to assist each other in such

measures of relief, though it *is* their custom to cripple and destroy each other whenever they can; and, secondly, that it is not the interest of Europe to promote the growth of America, or the interest of America to retard the decline and decay of Europe. The first of these arguments is worthy only of a narrow, illiberal, and barbarian mind; to which, that "custom," which Lord Bacon calls "the law of fools," is the highest test of excellence—because they are incompetent to use the higher one of reason. And the second of them is worthy only of a selfish misanthropist, whose chief happiness consists in increasing his pleasure by preventing others from being as happy as himself.

But, fortunately, both these classes of persons are getting fewer and fewer; and such arguments as these are losing their force every year. The time is not very remote when the English and French reciprocally thought it their interest to prevent the growth and prosperity of each other, and the long war between them strengthened that feeling; and so it was also for a considerable period between England and America. But continued peace, and increasing commerce, has convinced the more intelligent in all countries, that every addition to the wealth and happiness of any single country, is indirectly beneficial to every other. England is more useful to France, and France to England, now, by commercial interchanges, than they ever were before; and the most trifling and temporary interruption to the prosperity of either of these countries is sensibly felt as an injury to the other; while between America and England the connection is now so close and so strong,

that it is as impossible for the one to be depressed and embarrassed, without the other partaking of the suffering, as for any one limb of the human body to be afflicted with wounds or disease without the whole body being afflicted by the calamity.

It is, and ever has been, the interest of every one country, that every other country should prosper; as it is, and ever has been, the interest of every community, that each individual in it should be as virtuous and happy as possible. But it is only within a very late period that this great truth has been to any extent perceived by even the leaders of mankind; and many there are, no doubt, even among these, who are blind to it yet. But the same great principle of justice, as that on which is founded the divine maxim —that we should love all men as ourselves, and do to all others that which we would desire to have done unto us—is equally the foundation of the sister-maxim —that the prosperity and happiness of every nation is in some degree beneficial to every other;—and the faster and farther this great truth shall become known and acted upon, the greater will be the improvement and happiness of the whole human family.

At present it is quite melancholy to see the manner in which America is filling up—too slowly for all good purposes, but too rapidly for all bad ones. Of the emigrants who come from Europe, not more than half are of the orderly, prudent, and sober character which is most likely to improve the population, or conduce to the national welfare; and not more than half of these, or one-fourth of the whole, find their way into the interior, where their labour is almost exclusively needed. The least of these are

believed to be Germans, the next Scotch and English, and the last of all Irish; but there are, of course, some few good and some very bad in each, though in different proportions. The Germans, too, usually bring some capital with them, as well as industry, sobriety, and honesty; but the great bulk of the English, Scotch, and Irish are entirely destitute. They do not leave their homes, indeed, in general, till their destitution is complete; and they are often indebted to private charity or parish relief for the means of paying their passage out. When they land at New York, which is the principal port of debarkation, the facilities of obtaining ardent spirits makes them linger about the city, where they pick up, in jobs of labour, enough for a temporary subsistence; while their hours of leisure, and their wants, bring them in contact with many of their countrymen, who, though bad enough when they came, become worse by the dissolute and abandoned life and habits which they see pursuing all around them; so that they first become contaminated themselves, and then assist to contaminate others. At municipal and political elections, they are hunted out by the agents of the opposing candidates, and furnished with the means of appearing as voters at the polls, though not lawfully qualified to vote, and their numbers are often sufficient to turn the scale of an election; so that those the least fitted to form an accurate judgment, and having the least at stake in the issue, do often, no doubt, determine the result of an election, which encourages unprincipled candidates to purchase their support by various arts, as well as by an expenditure for the gratification of their unfortunate propensities

to drink. This produces the double evil, of corrupting their integrity, by tempting them to the fraudulent exercise of a privilege which they do not legally possess, and the exercise of all the necessary amount of falsehood and deception to sustain their votes; as well as strengthening a vicious and degrading habit of intoxication, which grows at length to be perpetual and incurable.

The greater number of those subjected to this process die in the Atlantic cities, in destitution and disgrace; and of those who survive, a portion still continue in the cities; while some, unable to obtain a living there, with the depraved habits and bad character by which they are known—though for the sober, honest, and industrious, profitable labour and good wages are always to be obtained—scatter themselves north and south, from New York to Boston and Philadelphia, where they form the floating, idle, and dissolute population, by which robberies are committed, incendiarisms practised, and crime of every kind increased; so that the records of the police and criminal courts are every month augmenting in the number and atrocity of the cases they have to enter. During our short stay in Philadelphia there seemed to me to be as many cases of robbery and disorder as occur in London in the same space of time, with nearly ten times the population. Sometimes, it would be the open and daring act of three or four thieves surrounding a man at a railroad depôt, and snatching his pocket-book from his hands while he was paying for his ticket; one running off with the spoils, and the other remaining to obstruct the pursuit, and raise a clamour and hubbub so as

to divert attention from the fugitive. At another time, it would be the housebreaking and shoplifting of midnight robbers, who would carry off the money and valuables in such a manner as to lead to a belief of collusion with some of the servants or inmates; and at others, it would be exhibited in some ingenious device, which would unite the qualities of a robbery and a fraud in one. Cases of personal violence were also multiplying in an alarming degree; and, what was almost unknown here twenty years ago, and very rare even ten years since, namely, conjugal infidelity, and quarrels between husbands and wives of the lower classes, were matters of every-day occurrence, In the Police Report of the City, for February 28th. before Recorder Rush, as given in the Public Ledger, where a man is named as being held to bail in the sum of 300 dollars for an assault and battery on his wife, the remark is added, "Every day this week (this being on a Friday) a case of this kind has been before the Recorder—men, for want of better employment, amuse their leisure hours by chastising their helpmates." Intoxication is here, as elsewhere, the general cause of such brutalities; but in the same Report, there is a novel mode of producing this, which is worthy of being noted, as a specimen of the manners of this degraded portion of the population—

"Isaac Corbitt was fined for intoxication, which he attributed not to liquor, but to blows on the head. It appeared some pot-house wags got him into a tavern, tried him for being intoxicated, found him guilty, and proceeded to put the sentence of their court into execution by beating him. He went away to make complaint to a magistrate in the neighbourhood."

When every post, however, brings intelligence of personal outrages committed in some part of the Union or other, by persons filling high stations, it is hardly to be wondered at that the imitators of such violence should increase among persons of humbler rank in society. The following is but one example out of many, with which the papers of the day abound—

"ANOTHER FRACAS IN THE OHIO LEGISLATURE.—The Columbus correspondent of the Cincinnati News, furnishes that paper with the following: 'I regret to mention that another disgraceful fracas came off this evening, in which Major Buchanan, Speaker of the House of Representatives of Ohio, was the assailant, and General James Allen, editor of the State Journal, the assailed. Allen, in his paper of this afternoon, in speaking of Medary, said that he was the brother of Buchanan's wife, and this is said to be the ground for the assault. The lady is only alluded to in this way, nor was any offence intended. Buchanan is a stout-built and powerful man, while Allen is in no way able to cope with such an antagonist, and in consequence the latter was knocked down several times, and severely hurt. He was taken into the American Hotel, where he is now lying.'"

In this case, as in that of the assault at Harrisburgh, there will probably be no redress, as, if taken before a Court, which however is not probable, a party-jury would be got together, and the acquittal of the offender would follow, so that others would be encouraged to commit similar outrages, since they would see that it could be done with impunity.

Not long since, a case of most cruel and revolting murder took place in Philadelphia, the perpetrator of which has not yet received, and most persons think he never will receive, any punishment for his crime. A person named Wood, of English birth,

but having been upwards of twenty years in this country, kept a confectioner's store, opposite the State House, in Chesnut Street, and his daughter contracted an acquaintance with a young man who kept a boot-store in the Arcade close by. They were married secretly, or unknown to the girl's father, his consent not having been asked, as his temper was known to be violent, and it was believed that he would object to the union, as he had been known to speak of his intention to seek out a rich husband for his daughter. The marriage became known, however, to the father, while the daughter still continued to serve in his shop, seeing her husband only by stealth, and waiting patiently for a favourable opportunity to disclose her alliance, and ask his forgiveness. The wretched parent immediately formed the intention to kill his own child. He accordingly went and purchased a pair of pistols, and all the necessary appendages; practised, to obtain a steady hand and aim, by shooting at a mark; and two or three days afterwards he closed his shop, called his daughter into a room, and there deliberately shot her dead at his feet! When the report of the pistols brought persons to the room, and when the officers of the police were ultimately called in, the murderer evinced no signs of sorrow or contrition, but expressed himself satisfied with what he had done, and gave himself up, as the avowed assassin of his own child, without a struggle or a murmur. He was taken to prison; his trial has been delayed; and it is now the universal opinion of all with whom I have conversed on the subject, that, on the plea of insanity, or ungovernable passion, or extreme provocation,

he will be either acquitted or pardoned; and not a regret is heard to be expressed, in the best circles of society, at this laxity in the just execution of the laws.

It must be added, however, that very much depends on the question of who are the offenders; for though some may commit crimes with impunity, others cannot. Perhaps as striking an illustration of this truth as could be presented, will be found in the history of two acts of incendiarism, committed by different parties, and a contrast of their issues. It will be remembered that nearly two years ago, a set of white incendiaries, in the rank of gentlemen, belonging to this city, openly and wilfully set fire to, and destroyed the Pennsylvania Hall, on the ground that it was a place in which the Abolition of Slavery had been openly advocated, and that no such building ought to be tolerated "in a free country;" the only regret expressed by the incendiaries being that the Abolitionists were not at the time in the Hall, to be burnt up with it. The incendiarism was avowed, boasted of, and applauded, by hundreds of the most wealthy and fashionable families of Philadelphia, and was aided and abetted by the very fire-companies assembled with their engines round the burning pile: as they refused, unanimously, to direct a single stream of water against the doomed building, and confined their operations entirely to the saving the surrounding ones from destruction. For this outrage, not an individual has yet been punished, and even the amount of damages for the value of the property destroyed, which, by the existing laws, the county funds are liable to pay, have never yet

been assessed, though the matter has been in litigation ever since, and the wreck of the burnt Hall still remains untouched, in one of the most crowded thoroughfares of the city—a daily memento of this ruffian act of robbery and destruction by the anti-abolitionists of Philadelphia. The following is the paragraph, from the Public Ledger, of Feb. 28th, describing the state of the law-proceedings for damages—

"THE PENNSYLVANIA HALL CASE.—A week or so ago, it was announced that the jury to award damages for the destruction of this edifice, could not agree. To-day, David Paul Brown and Wm. B. Reed, Esqrs. argued, and asked that another jury be empannelled in the matter. This, however, being the last day of the court, and the judges being obliged to 'clear their docket,' sufficient time could not be found to determine the matter, and it was therefore left to the disposition of a future tribunal."

As a contrast to this tardy march of justice to offenders, where white men are the criminals, and the offence has anything of party-feeling to palliate it, and gentility or rank to keep it in countenance, the following short but expressive paragraph, taken from the same paper of a few days later in date, March 2d, may be offered; and it will need no comment, as the most obtuse must perceive the difference. It is this—

"A Slave, named Sarah Young, has been sentenced to be *hung*, in Baltimore, for setting fire to a house."

In this case, punishment follows the offence with rapid steps—in the others, it never comes at all; and the prospect which this state of things opens for the future, is one that bodes no good to America. That

some of the more clear-sighted of the Americans themselves are beginning to see this, and to express their convictions strongly — though, owing to the press having to a great extent lost its influence for good over the community, with less effect than its truth deserves—the following excellent observations from the Public Ledger, will sufficiently prove :—

" There is no security in this country, if punitive justice does not follow the aggression of the laws. Tolerance of offence multiplies offenders, and a single example of unchastised violence provokes to similar misdeeds. Especially is this true where the offender occupies a lofty station ; and nothing has more alarmed patriots as to the permanence of our institutions, than the daily growing tendency to disregard the restraints of decency and order which our public men exhibit. Even the Senate Chamber of the Union, to which all eyes were formerly turned as the source and centre of all that was dignified and honourable, has become the theatre of contentions and foul-mouthed brawls ; and scenes have been enacted on the floor of the lower House of Congress which would have shamed a convention of fish-women. The lie is bandied from mouth to mouth, until the imputation of falsehood in a public man has almost ceased to be a reproach ; and blows are given and returned as if all sense of personal indignity—all regard for decorum—all observance of propriety—were swallowed up by overheated and malignant passion. The spread of this spirit is ominous of evil, and, if it be not checked, must lead to serious mischiefs. Already it is seen in the contempt of authority everywhere manifested—in the indisposition to submit to the restraints which the law imposes—and a fierce and intolerable demeanor."

In describing the progress of population in America, as too slow for all good purposes, and too rapid for evil, mention ought to be made of the rapid increase of the African race—there being not less than 200,000 Africans brought into the continent of America every year, and sold as slaves, a large

number of whom find their way through Cuba and Texas into the United States; in addition to which, from the progress of natural increase, the 3,000,000 of slaves now in this country are increased every year at the rate of from 60,000 to 70,000, and every addition to their number is an increase of evil and of danger to the peace and prosperity of the Union. Besides this, the coloured races who are free—including the negro, the mulatto, and all the shades of brown complexion, resulting from the amalgamation of illicit intercourse between the whites and blacks—amount already to upwards of 500,000; and these, by intermarriages, are increasing still more rapidly than the slaves. The prejudice against their colour is so strong, however, in all parts of the United States, and in the Free States of the North much more so than in the Slave States of the South, that there is no ground of hope for their ever being elevated much above their present condition while this feeling continues—and it appears to be growing stronger instead of weaker every year. They accordingly produce a most deteriorating effect on the general character of the mass of the population; and the very degradation in which they are kept, by the existence of this prejudice against them, has its indirect influence on the character of the whites.

That they are better off than the slaves, is saying very little for their condition; for though enjoying some advantages from their freedom, they labour under this great disadvantage—that, having to earn their livelihood by such means as are open to them, they are surrounded by continual temptations to fraud and crime, which do not beset the slave.

Driven out, as the slaves are, to their labour on the plantation early in the morning, and returning from thence late at night, and being under no necessity to earn their subsistence by any departure from the beaten track of their labours, they are exempt from many of the temptations that surround the free black, as he lingers on the wharf, or goes through the streets in search of employment, and leads a precarious life from day to day. Hence, first, their necessities, then their want of education, and then the temptation of the dram-shop, lead them step by step to a life of indolence and crime; and the criminal records of all the courts are therefore greatly swelled by the offences of the free coloured population. In Massachusetts the coloured population is less than 7,000, so that there is not more than one coloured person to 74 whites; and yet, of the convicts in the State prison, there is 1 coloured person to every 6 whites. In Connecticut, the coloured population is as 1 to 34 of the whole number in the State; but the convicts there are as 1 to 3 of the whites. In the city of New York, the coloured people are 1 to 34 of the inhabitants; and the convicts 1 to 4 of the whites. In New Jersey, they are 1 to 13 of the population; and 1 to 3 of the convicts. And in Pennsylvania—this being, like all the former, a Free State—the coloured population is as 1 to 33 of the whites; and the convicts as 1 to 3. Such are the elements of evil that are every year gaining strength and fermenting, together with the lax morals, unprincipled trading-system, wild speculations, and ungovernable passions of the whites, to produce results which the future alone can reveal.

As a singular contrast to the extreme contempt in which the coloured races are held, for all purposes of social intercourse, or political privilege, they are often more patronized than the whites in matters of public amusement. Negro songs, negro bands, and negro dances, are in high popularity. In the best circles of society you will hear young ladies of the first fashion sing the negro songs of "Old Zipcoon," — "The Lubly Rose," — "Old Virginny nebber tire"—and others of the same cast, in which the broken and imperfect pronunciation of the negro is given with great zest by the singer, and to the equal delight of the auditor; while the popularity of "Jim Crow" has perhaps never been surpassed by any song in the world. The most attractive exhibition ever yet offered at the Philadelphia Museum, as I was assured by one of its directors, was the performance of Frank Johnson's Black Band—the instruments being all brass, in horns, bugles, trombones, &c., and the members of it all coloured persons. Not less than 3,500 persons attended, for several nights following, in the great saloon of the Museum, to hear this negro band; and on two occasions they were obliged to close the doors long before the performance began, to prevent the admission of more, as every inch of space was thronged within, while crowds were still pressing for admission from without, and none were admitted without payment. Of the attractiveness of negro dancing, the following announcement, which appeared in all the Philadelphia papers of February, and was placarded on all the walls of the city, may give some idea. It is taken verbatim from the Public Ledger of February 29, 1840:—

"THE CHALLENGE ACCEPTED.—Master Diamond, a negro, having challenged any Man or Boy in America, in the sum of 200 to 500 dollars, for a trial of skill at *Negro Dancing*, in all its varieties, I have accepted the Challenge, and put up 250 dollars against the same amount staked by Master Diamond. The match, which will consist of a variety of BREAKDOWNS, JIGS, REELS, &c., will come off at the Walnut Street Theatre, on Monday Evening next. Judges will be chosen and sworn, and give their verdict from the Stage. JAMES SANDFORD."

The result of this exhibition is thus stated in an announcement of a benefit which followed a few nights after, and was still more crowded—

"MASTER DIAMOND'S BENEFIT.—This young representative of 'Old Virginny' takes a Benefit and last appearance at the Walnut Street Theatre to-night, and presents a most attractive bill. Diamond himself appears in NINE different negro songs and dances, and also appears in a *white* character. Sandford repeats his dancing and singing, which elicited so much applause on Monday Evening; also appears as 'Dinah Crow,' and many other novelties. Miss Lee and Master Reed also each appear in favourite dances. The *Dancing Match* drew an overflowing house at the Walnut Street Theatre, on Monday night, and hundreds were obliged to leave without being able to gain admission. The judges decided that Sandford was the best singer, but Diamond gave the greatest variety of steps, and therefore won the wager."

Whilst this degradation of the coloured population is still going on, the attempts to improve them by education or religion are very few and faint indeed, compared with the efforts made, and meetings held, and money raised, to sustain the missions to India, China, the Sandwich Islands, and the remotest corners of the earth;—while in the rage of the pretended "friends of the blacks" (for so the enemies of the Abolitionists call themselves), they

were not content with burning down the great Pennsylvania Hall, where public meetings were held, but they at the same time tore down and destroyed, in another part of the town, the school-house for orphans of the coloured race, sustained chiefly by the Quakers, and warred against their instruction as well as against their freedom!

And yet, in the face of all this, the Colonization Society of America, who oppose Abolition, and advocate, instead of it, the removal to Africa of as many of the free coloured persons as they can prevail upon to go, and as many of the slaves as their masters may be disposed to set free for *this* purpose, have the face to proclaim to the world their belief, that in sending such persons from hence back to Africa, the country of their origin, they will be assisting the cause of religion, good morals, pure institutions, and civilization generally, by the examples which they will carry with them from these shores to the land of their ancestors!! Nay, they even pretend that their previous slavery was part of the grand scheme of Providence, to bring them from Africa to America as captives, there to be taught the blessings of Christianity and Freedom, and after so learning these lessons, to be the heaven-directed messengers to convey them from hence to Africa, for her elevation—attributing, in short, to Providence all the cruelties of the internal wars carried on for the support of the slave-trade in Africa itself, all the horrors of the middle passage from thence to America, all the sufferings of 30,000,000 of African slaves transported to this continent within the last 200 years (for such is the number admitted by the

Colonization Society itself), in order that the knowledge of Christianity might, after all these were in their graves, be carried back to Africa by a handful of their descendants, though a single apostle might have effected the object so much better, if that had been the will of Heaven. This will hardly be believed, however, unless I cite the passage itself. I transcribe it, therefore, as it stands, from a circular, or single-sheet pamphlet, recently put forth by the Colonization Society, under the title of "Colonization and Abolition contrasted," published by Herman Hooker, of Philadelphia, and quoting thus, from a speech or statement of one of its most powerful advocates, Mr. Rives, one of the representatives in Congress, for Virginia, in which he says—

"When we reflect, that the accomplishment of this design in the only feasible mode—viz., under the plan of our Association—contemplates the negroes' restoration to their long-lost home, with the habits and the institutions of our own favoured land, prepared to propagate the blessings of Christianity and the arts of civilization, we may dare, without profanely attempting to search out the secrets of the Most High, to flatter ourselves, that we discern in its realization, *the wisdom and end of that appointment, by which they were originally brought to our shores.* What a mysterious and holy sanction—what a lofty encouragement does not this consideration impart to our enterprise? *Our own benevolence* thus expiates the wrongs of others, and Africa is redeemed from her savage thraldom, by the religion, the sciences, and the arts, which her *reclaimed* sons have brought with them from the land of their captivity."

Mysterious, indeed, would such a process of promoting Christianity and civilization be; but not more mysterious than the paradox which is presented by the professions of these pretended friends of the

Africans, and their conduct. If they really believed what they professed, nothing would be more easy than for Mr. Rives, and all his fellow slave-holders in Virginia, and elsewhere, to send *all* their slaves at once back to the land of their origin. They could give them their liberty at their own will and pleasure, and means of transport might be found, by the sacrifice of a single year's revenue or income. But they will neither give them liberty of their own accord, nor at the earnest solicitation or bidding of others. They pretend, indeed, to be Abolitionists themselves, but *their* abolition is of a singular character. So long as they are left to themselves, they will talk about it, and *prepare* to do it; but the moment any one else urges it on them, however prepared before to go heartily forward with their work, forthwith they suspend their operations, and then take a retrograde march. This is their own version of the matter, taken from the same authorized and official circular of the Colonization Society, in which they say—

"Moreover, there is in fact more of pure, genuine, unalloyed Abolition in the South, than in the North; and nowhere else has it found such eloquent advocates as among slaveholders. The South understands the subject; the North does not. The South is practical; the North deals in abstractions. Abolition in the South, is principle; in the North, it is faction. In the South, it has regard to public safety, and the good of all parties; in the North, it is revolutionary, and reckless of consequences. Abolition was moving over the South like the waves of the sea, till Northern Abolition began its crusade. Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee were in action, and the elements of Southern society were at the task. But when Northern Abolition stepped forth into a field not its own, all was hushed. The halls

of Southern legislation, instead of thundering with the call for emancipation, were crammed with bills for public safety and protection against foreign interference."

At the present moment the name of Abolitionist is as hateful as it ever was to the ears of a great majority of the Americans; their petitions are not allowed to be read or discussed in Congress, but are laid on the table in silent contempt; and the internal and external Slave Trade is more actively carried on at the present moment, than at any period within the last twenty years. The following is given in the same Circular of the Colonization Society, as the result of Mr. Buxton's recent investigations on this subject—

"Fifty years ago the Christian (!) slave trade was 80,000 annually; now 200,000! Mohammedan slave trade, 50,000 annually. The aggregate loss of life, in the Christian trade, in the successive stages of seizure, march, detention, middle passage, after landing, and seasoning, is 145 per cent, or 1,450 for every 1,000 available for use in the end; and 100 per cent loss of life, by the same causes, in the Mohammedan trade; consequently the annual victims of the Christian slave trade are 375,600; of the Mohammedan, 100,000. Total loss to Africa, 475,000 annually; or 23,750,000 in half a century at the same rate! It is reasonable to suppose, that Africa has already lost, in the last 200 years, 30,000,000 of her population in this way!—A slave ship named JEHOVAH (!) made three voyages between Brazil and Angola in 13 months of 1836-7, and landed 700 slaves the first voyage; 600 the second; and 520 the third—in all, 1820!"

The object with which this pamphlet has been issued, is to show that Mr. Buxton, in his recent Work on the Slave Trade, gives up all hope of its suppression by the modes now in force for that purpose; because it has been found by experience that

wherever the *profits* of an unlawful or unholy traffic are great, there will be found daring and profligate men, who will brave all hazards, break all laws, and violate all moral principles, to reap the guilty gains which any such traffic may yield. And consequently, that the profits of the Slave Trade having been increased by the very means taken to suppress it, the traffic is greater now than it has ever been, and is still going on increasing. Mr. Buxton therefore advises the planting of Colonies on the shores of Africa by the British Government, and the encouragement of peaceful and honourable commerce with the natives; in the belief, that by this means they will be brought to discover that man is a more valuable creature to be kept in his own country, for tillage, artisan labours, and trade, than to be exported abroad as a Slave; and that self-interest and the love of gain will therefore accomplish what neither law, religion, nor force, has yet been able to effect. The Colonization Society of America hails this as a great triumph of their cause, and proclaims in this pamphlet the fact of Mr. Buxton's conversion to their views! On this ground it makes a strong appeal to the people of America to come forward and contribute largely to their funds, in order that they may carry out their plans more fully. In this appeal, they urge this as "a momentous consideration," namely, "its importance as a *safety-valve* to our domestic Slave-question;" and there is no doubt that, whatever they may profess to the contrary, this is the *chief* consideration by which the supporters of the Colonization Society of America are actuated. They see the Slaves increasing in the South at the rate of 60,000

a year; and the dangers of insurrection drawing nearer and nearer with every such increase; they see the free blacks increasing also in a still greater proportion according to their numbers; and they dread so much the influence of these free blacks in infecting their slaves with a desire for freedom, that the laws of almost all the Slave States prohibit their intercourse with each other, and compel all free blacks to leave their territory. The anxiety of those who apprehend danger from this source, to provide a "safety-valve" by which the surplus force of this power may be let off, is therefore very easily understood; and by so much, therefore, as they can get any number, of the free blacks especially, and such of the slaves as evince any desire for freedom also, to emigrate to Africa, by so much do they lessen the pressure of the danger from within. This is the meaning of their expression quoted above; and in this sense it is, no doubt, a "momentous consideration" thus to provide "a safety-valve" to their "domestic Slave-question."

If they looked at all *beyond* this, and had as much at heart the elevation of Africa, and the suppression of the Slave Trade, as they pretend, nothing would be more easy than for them to show their sincerity, by uniting the planters in some scheme to emancipate a tenth, or any given number of their slaves, every year, and sending them, by an appropriation of profits made from the labours of the rest, to Africa, so that in ten years—or twenty, if ten should be thought too rapid a process—they might free their country of Africans altogether; and if they have the power to hold them in Slavery against their will,

they could not want power to return them to their own country, with or without their own consent, if so they chose. Why, then, do they not do this? The answer will be found in the maxim already stated, as that which has upheld the Slave Trade so long—namely, that it is too profitable a thing to keep their slaves, as producers of cotton, sugar, and rice, to let them easily go.

The Slave Trade, like any other trade, can live only by consumers. If the holders of slaves here, would close their market against slave-dealers, the traffic would soon decline. But while Cuba and Texas are doors, or inlets, through which numbers of imported slaves are brought into the United States every year; and while Virginia is a great slave-breeding estate, and Washington a great central slave market, for the supply of the Southern and Western States; it is the sheerest hypocrisy to pretend to any other or higher object in this system of Colonization, as conducted by the American Society, than that of its acting as a "safety-valve" to let off the pressure of its increasing slave and free-coloured population. This purpose, as far as it goes, it no doubt does answer; but still to so limited an extent, as to make it important for them to get more aid in the way of funds to effect the transport of such emigrants as they can obtain for the purpose; and hence they avail themselves of every opportunity that offers, to press their claims on the public for pecuniary assistance towards this end.

Another cause of alarm to the slave-holders in the South, is the growing competition of other countries in the production of their great staple, cotton;

the consequent probable decline in the price of that article, as well as in the demand on America for supplies; either of which would tend to lessen the value of slave-property in a great degree, and by lessening their means of subsisting their slaves well, would increase the dangers of revolt. The following is the statement of the Society on this head—

"But again, the high value of slave-property in our Southern States, results from the production of two or three staples, and the moment a successful competition shall arise in other quarters, it will be a burden. The amount of cotton raised in the whole world is estimated at *ten hundred millions* of pounds, of which 550,000,000 is the product of our Slave States. In 1791, those States produced only 2,000,000 lbs.; in 1801, it was 40,000,000; in 1811, it was 80,000,000; in 1821, it was 170,000,000; in 1826, it was 348,250,000; now it is 550,000,000. In Texas, cotton can be raised with half the labour; and labour can be got for half the price, as the slave trade is open to that country! both of which considerations give an advantage of 200 per cent. to Texas over the Southern States in this competition. A slave can be bought there for 500 dollars, who would cost 1,000 dollars at New Orleans. The effect of this is obvious, and must very soon be felt. Great Britain, too, that now gives annually a market for 220 to 350,000,000 of pounds of cotton produced by the slave-labour of the United States, is preparing to obtain it from her own dominions in the East, and it is understood she can do it. Western Asia now produces 190,000,000 lbs. of cotton annually; South America, including Mexico, 65,000,000; Egypt, 27,000,000; the West Indies, 8,000,000; and even Western Africa itself now produces 36,000,000, nearly as much as our own Slave States in 1800."

That the planting of colonies in Africa,—communicating to its inhabitants a knowledge of the arts of civilized life,—elevating them in wealth by commerce, and in dignity of character by morality

and religion, would be a benefit to them, and to those who should be the instruments of effecting it, no reflecting person can doubt; and in this hope, the philanthropists of all countries ought to assist in the promotion of this great work. But, in its execution, no other motive ought to prevail above that of elevating the African race; and, therefore, all distinctions of ranks or privileges, arising from the colour of the skin, should be prohibited, as an essential feature of the scheme. In Liberia, the experiment appears to have worked admirably, and the best effects have been produced by leaving the blacks to the exclusive management of their own affairs, without having any whites to exercise authority among them; and even in Hayti, or St. Domingo—though the contrary is asserted by the enemies of slave-emancipation here—the experiment has worked better than most persons expected. I was assured by Commodore Elliott, of the United States' Navy, that when he visited St. Domingo recently, in one of the American frigates, he attended the offices of government and the court, and was deeply impressed with the intelligence, order, and courtesy, which prevailed in each. He gave an entertainment on board his ship, consisting of a ball and supper, to some of the heads of departments and their ladies; and though he was at first afraid that his Southern officers would not much like this sitting at table, and mingling in the dance, with the sable functionaries and gentry of Hayti, yet the intelligence, good manners, and amiability of all those who formed the party, was such as even to win the Southerners over, first to acquiescence, and then to cordial and satisfac-

tory participation.* In Liberia, as in St. Domingo, there are no whites in authority, and this is no doubt one of the chief causes of the tranquillity and prosperity that prevails in each.

A colony, like that of the French at Algiers, effected by conquest, and maintained by force, will do little or nothing to elevate the Africans. Neither will a colony, like that of the English at Sierra Leone, with white rulers and black subjects, effect much more. But settlements, like those of Liberia, where Africans alone are organized into a community, and conduct their own affairs, with perhaps a few whites, as surgeons and physicians, ministers of religion, and teachers of schools, but wholly without authority, are no doubt best calculated for success; The result of the settlement at Liberia is most encouraging, as showing, that whatever may be the degradation of the African character in America, it is owing to the unfavourable circumstances in which the coloured population are there placed, rather than to any inherent defects in their nature; and whites, as well as blacks, are, to a great degree, "the creatures of circumstance and situation." The evidence on this subject is abundant, and from disinterested parties. British and American officers, of

* While these sheets are passing through the press, I have read, with the deepest interest and pleasure, the excellent little Work of my esteemed friend, the benevolent John Candler, of York, whose labours, as a voluntary Missionary to the West Indies, were directed chiefly to the subject of education in the Islands; and whose "Brief Notices of Hayti, with its Condition, Resources, and Prospects," confirm this view, and are well worthy the attention of all who desire accurate information on this subject.

the naval and merchant service, who have visited Liberia, bear testimony to the industry, intelligence, and morality, of the negroes there. Though the courts of justice, and the juries, which are formed on the English and American model, were rigid in their prosecution and conviction of offences, only five persons of the settlement had been committed for stealing or misdemeanour in three years, and not one single instance of a capital crime had occurred since the foundation of the colony; while an American, Captain Sherman, says, that "among the inhabitants of Monrovia, there is a greater proportion of moral and religious character than in the city of Philadelphia;" and another American, Governor Buchanan, declares that "the youth of the colony discover an eager desire for improvement, and their progress, considering their opportunities, is almost incredible; among the young men of Monrovia, there is a larger proportion of good accountants and elegant penmen, than in any American town with which he was acquainted."

If the people of Europe and America would but earnestly combine their efforts for this purpose, it would no doubt be as easy for them to colonize Africa, and raise it to an equal dignity with the other quarters of the globe, as it was for Egypt to colonize Greece—Greece to instruct Rome—Rome to colonize Britain—and Britain to colonize America. As to the capacity of the African race for instruction and improvement, this is a question which, as far as it has yet been tested by experience, must be answered in the affirmative; though the contrary is still maintained by nearly all the advocates of the Ameri-

can Colonization Society, whenever they wish to portray the dangers, and enhance the difficulties of Abolition. Then, indeed, the "negro is of an inferior race and intellect, and cannot be expected to be able to take care of himself," in proof of which, they cite the destitute condition of the free blacks of the North. But let the object be the transportation of these free blacks to Africa, as a "safety-valve to their domestic slavery," and then they are all at once not only "endowed with power to learn whatever may be presented to them," but they are elevated to the dignity of "having been, through their ancestors, the first and greatest teachers of the human race." To establish this view, the following is made the opening paragraph of the Colonization Pamphlet, before quoted from—

"With the Africans, civilization, in its higher forms, originated; to them may be traced the great events which led to the social well-being of the civilized world—to the establishment of legislative, judicial, and fiscal departments of government, and of the whole frame-work of political mechanism necessary to give motion, steadiness, and permanence to the social machine. While Carthage and Thebes are remembered; while the monuments of Afric's ancient grandeur tower to heaven amidst her desert sands; while her forgotten arts stand chiselled in the eternal rocks; while her mummies are pirated from her tombs to be displayed in the museums of Europe and America; while the renown of her Pharaohs is proclaimed in Holy Writ; while the names of Hannibal, Hanno, Jugurtha, Terence, Origen, Tertullian, Augustine, and Cyprian, are prominent in history; while Ethiopia looks out from behind the clouds of antiquity, beaming with the splendours of civilization; and while the god Budha, an African, of the negro race, in all his parts and features, is worshipped by 200 millions of the human race, of another species—the *world* must yet have some *reverence* for such a people."

The *reverence* which Americans, who in the mass consider themselves the most enlightened and most virtuous of all the "world," show towards this "negro race," is best seen by those who live among them; but in reading such a paragraph as this in Philadelphia, where the ruins of the Pennsylvania Hall still stand as a monument of the popular fury towards persons who were guilty of "insulting the white population," by "walking arm in arm with coloured persons to the meeting,"—for this was the popular allegation of crime in Philadelphia, where the Coloured Orphan School was torn down by ruthless hands, and the poor children deprived of the commonest kind of instruction—in Philadelphia, where this "reverenced" race of negroes cannot worship God on the same floor with the whites, but are made to sit apart in a gallery by themselves—to read this mockery of their ancestral dignity, in such a city, published by a religious bookseller, Mr. Herman Hooker, and eulogized at public meetings of the ministers of religion, amidst fairs and bazaars for building churches, and all the clamour of religious Revivals—makes one drop the book in shame, and hide one's face in mingled scorn and sorrow.

CHAP. II.

Visit to the Chinese Museum—History of its formation—Description of the Saloon and its arrangement—Representations of life in Chinese figures—Scenery—Dwellings—Furniture and costume—Models of boats and buildings—Musical instruments—Weapons of war—Porcelain—Lanterns—Carvings in ivory—Manufactures in silks, satins, and brocades—Japan ware—Specimens of natural history—Vividness and reality of the scene, like a visit to China—Education and ability the only passports to office—Administration of justice—Liberality towards foreigners—Chinese edicts against opium—Manners and customs of the Chinese—Contrast between Chinese and American objects of teaching—Excellent institutes of an ancient Emperor—Philosophical comments of a subsequent Sovereign—Criminality of Europeans and Americans towards the Chinese—Contrast of converting them by Missions, and destroying them by Opium—Value of this Chinese Collection in a moral point of view—Suggestion for the formation of similar ones of other countries—Schuylkill Water-works.

One of the most recent and most interesting Collections which has been added to the attractions of Philadelphia, since our former visit to the city, is that of the Chinese Museum, the most beautiful and perfect of its kind, perhaps, that exists in the world. I was so charmed with this, and visited it so often, that there was some apprehension of my becoming tired of it; but it gave me increased pleasure at every successive visit; and I confess that I felt a longing desire to have it transferred to London,* where it would gra-

* This desire is now gratified, as Mr. Dunn has brought his beautiful Collection to England, and is now exhibiting it in a

tify ten times the number of persons that it can do here, and where the visitors would, I think, feel more pleasure, from the more sensitive and ardent temperament of Europeans generally, compared with the coldness and indifference of the Americans. In London or Paris, exclamations of surprise and delight would be heard at every step, escaping from some one or other of the groups passing through such a Collection: but here, though I saw many during my stay, who were visitors for the first time, I did not observe a single instance of any emotion. The only observations that escaped the lips of any were to the effect, that several of the articles were very "neat," or very "pretty;" while the greater number contented themselves with a very hurried glance along the room, remained but a short time in it, and were soon either satisfied or fatigued. Its cost, and its probable return of interest or profit from the daily receipts of admission, were much more frequently the subject of the visitor's calculation, than any estimate of the degree of civilization which all this betokened; or the extraordinary problem of a nation producing all this, nearly 3,000 years ago, and remaining stationary almost ever since, though its population is the largest of any nation in the world.

building erected for the purpose near St. George's Place, Hyde Park. These details of my visit to it in Philadelphia, and the impressions which the inspection of its contents left on my mind, recorded as they were on the spot, will now be read perhaps with the greater interest, and will, I hope, have the effect of inducing many to visit it, when they may be assured of a high and unmingled gratification.

This Collection was made in China by Mr. Dunn, a native of Philadelphia, who resided at Canton, as an American merchant, for several years; and while accumulating a fortune by trade, he conceived the idea of collecting together specimens of everything remarkable or curious among the Chinese, and forming out of these a private cabinet for his own use and pleasure. As his Collection increased, however, the passion for accumulation increased with it; and every year his plan expanded wider and wider. Not content with what he could procure at Canton, he had agents for collecting objects of value and interest in Nankin and Pekin—many of which, including first cost, agency, and transport, were obtained at great expense; the whole cost of the Collection, before it left China, exceeding, it is said, 50,000 dollars—and I should think this a small sum for such a purchase. From thence, when he returned home, he brought them all to Philadelphia; and in the transport, fitting up, arrangement, and embellishment here, in the state in which they are now seen in the Exhibition, another 50,000 dollars must have been expended at least. Very recently, Louis Philippe, the King of the French, made an offer of 100,000 dollars for the Collection, to be transferred to Paris—which was declined, as the proprietor, Mr. Dunn, is rich enough to need no further addition to his fortune, and ambitious enough to desire that his labours should enjoy their deserved reputation in his native city, where his memory cannot fail to be honoured, so long as this Collection shall exist.

The hall occupied by this Collection is on the

ground-floor of the same edifice as that which holds the larger Museum of Philadelphia, on its upper floor, but of smaller dimensions ; this containing only the productions and fabrics of one country, China ; while the other contains articles from every quarter of the globe. The Chinese Hall is, however, of ample size and excellent proportions, being 163 feet in length by 70 feet in breadth, and 35 feet in height; the ceiling is sustained by a double range of 22 square pillars, which divide the hall into a broad central space, and two side aisles of narrower dimensions ; the pillars being square instead of circular, and most judiciously used for the display of pictorial embellishments.

The passage down the aisles or wings on each side is filled with glass-cases, in which are arranged the various articles of Chinese production and manufacture ; and the spaces between the pillars and the recesses formed by the side-windows, are occupied in a similar manner ; while glass-cases of a much larger size stand on either hand of the central saloon. At each end of the hall is a rich and beautiful screen, as gorgeous as painting and gold could make them. From the ceiling descend innumerable lamps and lanterns, of all forms and patterns, and of the costliest and gayest materials ; and around the whole room are tablets and inscriptions, consisting of various maxims written in the Chinese character—sometimes in golden letters, on a green or crimson ground ; at others, in deep black, on a white or yellow silk ; the whole producing an almost magical effect, in the richness, variety, and novelty, of the scene.

As the visitor advances inward, however, he begins to perceive Chinese men and women, in sufficient numbers, and with sufficient resemblance to life, to give great animation to the scene. Mandarins of different ranks, are seen paying and receiving visits; ladies of distinction enjoying their musical and other entertainments; scholars and students occupied in their libraries; priests in their sacerdotal robes, mingling with their followers; gentlemen in mourning, clothed in sackcloth, and going unshaven; tragedians and actors in full costume, declaiming on the stage; itinerant barbers shoemakers, and smiths, pursuing their occupations in the streets; officers of government, borne along in palanquins or sedans, through the narrow avenues of Canton; shopkeepers supplying their customers across the counter, with all the interior arrangements of a Chinese store; boatwomen and servants, soldiers and beggars, all at their several avocations; and wealthy merchants, paying and receiving visits of ceremony, and giving and taking refreshments according to the custom of the country.

These are not mere delineations in pictures, drawn or painted on paper or canvass—though even in this shape they would interest the spectator considerably—but they are all actual figures, as large as life, moulded in clay, with a resemblance to life, in texture, complection, and colouring, greater than that of the finest wax-work figures that were ever made. They are all placed in the most natural and appropriate attitudes imaginable. They have all actual dresses of the exact kind worn by the several classes they represent, and are all surrounded by

those several auxiliaries and accompaniments which belong to their respective dwellings or occupations, and have a reality about them, which comes the nearest to actual life of anything I have ever seen as a representation of it.

In addition to these representations of the inhabitants of China, there are innumerable specimens of all their articles of furniture and apparel, including every description of ornament for the person; books in great number, with the wooden blocks of raised types or characters, from which they are printed; paintings, in oil and water colours, of every conceivable subject—including views of Canton, Whampoa, Macao, and other cities and ports of China; the exterior and interior of their temples; views of country seats and private residences of the wealthier classes; bridal and funeral processions; modes of travelling by the emperor and empress, and mandarins of all ranks and classes; military reviews, hunting parties, and the great Feast of Lanterns; portraits of the emperor and empress, and of many of the Hong merchants and other distinguished characters; delineations of furniture, and drawings of costume, without end; beautiful and accurate representations of fruits and flowers, birds and fishes, boats and decorations, in water-colours, on rice-paper, executed with the precision of the most finished miniatures, and literally bewildering, from their multiplicity and beauty. Besides these, are series of pictorial representations of every stage in the process of growing and manufacturing tea—from the ploughing the land, to the picking the leaves; and then to the sorting, drying, cleansing,

curling the leaf in furnaces—re-sorting, mixing, weighing, packing, marking, and exporting the article; as well as the process of producing and manufacturing silk, from the gathering the leaves of the *morus multicaulis*, to the hatching the egg, winding off the silk from the coccoons, and weaving it into the satin or damask brocade.

Next are seen models of their bridges, canals, water-wheels, and other hydraulic processes; models of their various machines for cleansing and pounding rice; actual ploughs, harrows, hoes, and all other of their agricultural implements; complete sets of carpenters' tools, and various specimens of the modes in which their handicraft operations are performed. Besides these, are models of the different kinds of houses used in China, many of them being furnished throughout, especially those representing the summer houses or country residences of the wealthy. This is also the case with the models of their ships and boats, of which there are not less than 20, of large size, some 5 or 6 feet long, from the small river-boat, the only home of many of the poorer families, up to the boat of transport for the canal, or the junk for the coasting-voyage by sea; the pleasure-boats of the opulent, many of which are superb, and the war-gallies for the protection of the coast, with their oars, guns, masts, sails, rigging, and tackling complete, so as to give as perfect an idea of the originals as if they themselves were before our eyes.

Musical instruments in great numbers are seen, embracing several kinds of guitars, a sort of harp, a set of musical metal plates, suspended in a frame,

each giving a different sound when touched, as a set of musical glasses; brass trumpets, or long horns, turning upward and outward at the end, like those seen in the old delineations of the trumpets of the Jews; a kind of bagpipes, several sorts of flutes, a violin, with two strings only, one above the other, and the bow traversing between; drums of several kinds, pieces of hard polished wood and stone, gongs, cymbals, cups, and small musical bells; brass trombones, resembling large hand-pumps, which draw out in several joints, like telescopes; and many others indescribable. Weapons of war also are added to these, including bows and arrows, air-guns, swords of singular shape, some to be used with both hands, two blades going into one scabbard; with shields, quivers, helmets, and armour of various kinds.

Of their manufactures, the porcelain or china is most varied; and the lanterns, brocades, ivory carvings, and rich lacquer-work or japanning, the most beautiful; though all are deeply interesting. The largest articles of the finer porcelain are the vases, some of which are six feet high with their stands; and bowls, some of which are 30 inches in diameter. Many of these are exquisitely painted and gilded; and must have required immense labour as well as skill. The largest articles of porcelain, of the coarser kinds, are railings or balustrades, for verandas of houses, and tiles for roofs of temples, as well as landmarks for separating estates by boundaries—the first of which are very ornamental, and the latter highly useful, as containing, coloured and burnt in with the earthenware, the names of the respective

owners of the divided estates, and the area and boundaries of each, so as to remove all disputes—a custom probably as ancient as the time of Moses, and giving force and meaning to the commandment, "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmarks." Some of the porcelain vases in this Collection are upwards of 500 years old; and every variety of pattern, colour, and form, from that era to the present, is seen in the Collection. Among the older ones are several that have their whole surface split into innumerable fractures—this appearance being produced by artificial preparations which cause them to be so cracked in the burning; and this, which we should deem a defect, is by the Chinese esteemed as a great beauty. Besides the dinner and tea services, which are extremely varied and beautiful, there are a great number of ornamental and useful articles made out of this material, such as figures of idols for worship, fantastic representations of monsters of the most grotesque shapes, as ornaments, garden-seats, and flower-pots—some of singular beauty — and small articles in great variety.

The lanterns of the Collection are numerous, varied, rich, and beautiful, and comprehend, apparently, at least a hundred different kinds. Those in use on bridal occasions, in theatrical representations, and on festivals and public entertainments, are of the most gorgeous description; and all the richness that crimson damask, gold, japan-work, ivory, tortoise-shell, mother-of-pearl, tassels and trimmings of the richest silk fringes, can produce in combination, are lavished on some of them; while

the smaller kinds, coming down in regular gradation from these to the lanterns carried in the hand, are all more varied and beautiful than any used in Europe. These are here all suspended from the ceiling, or kept in glass-cases; but in China, some of the largest and richest are carried on poles, like the Roman standards, in public processions; and by night add greatly to the splendour of the scene. They are made of horn, silk, glass, paper, and sometimes of a fine thread overspread with a thick coating of varnish. The frame-work is often carved in the richest manner; the silk which covers it is elegantly embroidered, or painted with landscape scenery; and decorations of the most profuse and varied stile are lavished on every available part of it. The lantern is a favourite indeed of the nation; and at the great annual Feast of Lanterns—which De Pauw mentions in his Work on the connection between the Chinese and Egyptians, as a point of resemblance between the institutions and usages of these two people—the whole of the 300,000,000 of which the population is composed, vie with each other, according to their taste and means, in the costliness and beauty of their lanterns.

The carvings in ivory are not numerous, but the specimens are very fine. Among them are two large ivory balls, one containing seven concentric spheres, each cut from a single block; and another containing seventeen balls, one within another, and each carved of a different pattern. Besides other carvings in ivory, mother-of-pearl, and hard woods, there are a great variety of fantastic roots of the bamboo and banyan trees, which, by the exercise of

considerable ingenuity, and some skill in carving particular parts, have been made to resemble persons and things in ludicrous combination, this being a national taste also with the Chinese; and these roots, so adapted by carving, are lacquered with a deep brown varnish, and made to look imposing and ornamental.

The silks, satins, and brocades, in workings of gold and colours, are rich and beautiful. These are seen to great advantage, in the superb robes of the mandarins, paying and receiving visits; in the dresses of the musical party of ladies; and, above all, in the robes of the theatrical performers on the stage, which are really exquisite. They are displayed also to advantage on the richly-embroidered saddle and caparison of a mandarin, in the knee-pans worn by the gentlemen to shield them from hurt when falling, in the diminutive shoes of the small-feeted ladies of rank, called "the golden lilies," in the tobacco and opium pouches, and other smaller articles of domestic use; and in this art of embroidery the Chinese may be said to equal, if not to surpass, all nations of the present day.

So also in the lacquered-work, or japan-ware, as it is most usually termed, the Chinese productions are greatly superior to any imitations yet made of them in Europe, though it is said the workmen of Japan exceed even those of China in this art. Be this as it may, the specimens contained in this Collection are of the most perfect and beautiful description. Ladies' work-tables of large size, and delicate yet exuberant richness, furnished within with carved ivory accompaniments, and mother-of-pearl working

materials. Gentlemen's writing-desks, furnished and fitted in an equally expensive manner. Cases, with varied compartments all made to fit in with a variety of shapes, like a mosaic pavement, and form a perfect whole, are among the principal of these works; and they evince the perfection of art in the hands that executed them. A singular and beautiful tea-service, of deep crimson and gold, is also seen with the porcelain, made of this lacquered or japan-ware, and much lighter than any china that can be made. These are formed of wood, finely turned into the requisite shapes, and then lacquered and gilded. It appears that all substances which are at once dry and smooth, are capable of being prepared to receive the process of japanning, so that fine-grained wood, various metals, and dried and pressed paper, hardened and smoothened, are equally used for the purpose. The varnish is made from a gum which distils from a shrub peculiar to China, and being poisonous in its liquid state, great caution is used by those who gather and who work in it. More than fifty separate coats and dryings are used on the finer wares—sixty or seventy on the very best—which greatly enhances their cost; and the colour mostly used, as contrasting best with the gilding, is a pure jet black, though the varnish will take any other hue desired; and the crimson and gold used in the tea-service described, looks very rich and beautiful.

The porcelain manufacture in China is said to be less perfect now than it was three centuries ago; and the older specimens are certainly among the finest in this Collection. It is recorded, that in former reigns, higher rewards were given by the emperors for the

best specimens made; as much as 20,000 dollars being given to the manufacturer who produced an article of porcelain surpassing all competitors in fineness and beauty, 10,000 dollars to the producer of the second-best, and 5,000 dollars to the third, which premiums have been discontinued. There are, however, upwards of a million of male workmen employed in one district only, in the manufacture of this article, the division of labour being so great, that a single tea-cup of the finest kind is said to pass through fifty hands at least, before it is finished!

The specimens of natural history in this Collection are not numerous, but they are all good, and some very beautiful; there are none either trifling or worthless; and the manner in which they have been preserved and arranged, is superior to that of any specimens of natural history that I have ever seen elsewhere. Among the most strikingly beautiful are the birds of China, which, for colours and plumage, may vie with those of any land; while the water-fowl, especially the mandarin duck, and several of the teal, the green-winged, the rufus-headed, and the crested especially, are as beautiful as the land birds; though among these, the superb kingfisher, the oriole, the golden and silver pheasants, are among the most splendid of their race. There is a boa constrictor, 13 feet in length, coiled round a wild cat of China; a porcupine, unusually perfect; a badger, a weasel, and a Chinese fox. There is also a small, but very beautiful collection of marine shells; a much larger one of fishes; and one less varied of Chinese minerals: but limited as all these are in extent, they excite admiration by the indivi-

dual beauty of each of the specimens procured, and the peculiar excellence of their preservation and arrangement, which is unequalled by anything I have seen elsewhere.

Independently of the gratification derived from a visit to this Collection, by the sight of so many articles of novelty and beauty, the visitor becomes more intimately acquainted with the Chinese nation and people than he could do by a month's hard reading on the subject; indeed, he receives impressions far more vivid, deep, and lasting, than any amount of reading would convey. He is here introduced to the nation itself, and seems to mix in the very society of its people. He is present at the interviews of its mandarins; he sits with the ladies in their morning parties; he is admitted into the studies of the literati, and examines their books; he sees, face to face, the priests of the different sects; he buys his goods in the trader's shop; he is jostled by the sedan and bearers of the official servant in the streets of Canton; he passes by the barber, the shoemaker, and the smith, the soldier, and the boat-women, the servant, and the beggar, in his walk; he goes to the theatre, and sees the actors at night; and he passes a cool and tranquil day in a visit to the country summer-house of a rich merchant, where he is entertained with tea, and perfumes, and fruits. If he has curiosity enough to prolong his visit sufficiently to inspect all the articles contained in the Collection, or visits it repeatedly for this purpose at his intervals of leisure, he cannot but feel that he has almost benefited himself as much, in the extent, minuteness, clearness, and accuracy of his informa-

tion respecting the Chinese people, as if he had visited China himself; much more so indeed than many who go there and make no inquiries, and this too in a way that all the books ever written on China could never impress him.

In the mere cursory examination of the catalogue which he holds in his hand, and the rapid glance which he throws on the objects enumerated in it, though the whole book is little more than a hundred pages, he gathers, as he goes along, information at every step, on the geography, climate, and productions of the country; its population, their numbers, classes, and condition; their religion, literature, and morals; their agriculture, manufactures, arts, and amusements; and this through the medium of things as well as words, which appeal therefore to his senses as well as to his understanding; and which, having once seen and dwelt upon, if for ever so short a period, he will remember long and long after the period when any description of them would have faded away from his recollection entirely. In short, it comes the nearest to actually travelling in the country, and communicating personally with the people, of anything that has yet been devised. Among other things which impressed themselves most forcibly on my own mind in this examination, and which seemed to me a fine specimen of the *multum in parvo*, I will note only a few, as an example of the manner in which such a Collection as this answers a much higher purpose than the mere gratification of the eye, though this is very great, by illustrating the national history, resources, character, and manners of the people whom

these figures and these productions accurately represent.

It appears that in China, the cultivable area of territory amounts to about 600,000,000 of acres, of English measure, and that there are about 300,000,000 of inhabitants, which gives an area of about two acres to each individual. There is no hereditary rank, and no law of primogeniture. Landed property is, therefore, greatly divided, and small farms of a few acres each, not tenanted from large owners, but possessed as well as tilled by the occupant, stud the country. No parks or pleasure grounds, beyond the small gardens which belong to private dwellings, abridge the surface devoted to agriculture, nor is pasture so much encouraged as tillage; wheel-carriages are not in use, so that the roads are narrow; the land-marks and fences take up but little space; and no sepulchres of the dead are allowed to occupy any ground which can be made to produce food for the living; a law which prevailed with the ancient Egyptians, who placed their tombs in the rocky mountains and barren deserts beyond the waters of the Nile; as the Chinese place their burial-grounds on the tops and sides of barren rocks and hills. Agriculture is in every department well understood and successfully pursued; and in no country perhaps on the globe, are there more ample returns to the labour of the husbandmen than in China.

There being no hereditary nobility, all rank is derived from office; and talents and capacity for business, with the requisite education and character, are the only passports to public employment. They

thus avoid the evil of placing unqualified persons in places of high trust and responsibility, merely because they are of noble birth—an error continually productive of the worst results in the old monarchies of Europe—as well as the opposite evil of elevating mere demagogues to public office, because they pander to the prejudices of the ignorant and vicious, as in the new democracies of America. The extraordinary stability of this vast and populous empire, which has maintained itself from external conquest and internal revolution, for so many thousand years, while empires, kingdoms, and republics have been crumbling all around them, is one of the most remarkable political phenomena at the present day; and in a visit to this Museum, the inquirer receives this information on the subject. The instruction given in their schools is almost wholly of a moral and political complexion, being designed solely to teach the subjects of the empire their *duties*. Within their alloted circle, all are educated. A statute was in existence 2,000 years ago, which required that every town and village, down even to a few families, should have a common school. There are annual examinations in the provinces, and triennial examinations at Pekin, which are resorted to by throngs of ambitious students. The whole empire is, indeed, a great university. The individuals who pass successfully through the several examinations are loaded with honours; they are entertained at the expense of the nation; their names and attainments are published throughout the empire; they are courted and caressed; and are made eligible to all the offices within the gift of the emperor. All this is done, in

order that the sovereign, to use their own expression, may "pluck out the true talent of the land," and employ it in the administration of the government. The 14,000 civil mandarins are, almost without exception, the best scholars of the country; and all other titles to respect, all other qualifications for office, are held as nothing, compared with education. This is believed to be, in connection with the rigid enforcement of personal responsibility from every officer for every wrong done in his department, the true secret of the greatness and prosperity, the stability and repose of the "Celestial Empire," as it is called; for, as in all countries it is the ambitious who overthrow established governments, here the ambitious have other means of personal advancement, in being secure of high distinction if they possess abilities and education, without the pain of seeing worthless men preferred before them, either by the influence of high birth, or the arts of the demagogue; and thus the public tranquillity is undisturbed.

In the administration of justice, there would appear to be more of equity, and a greater regard to the protection of the interests of the friendless and the stranger, than in most countries. This is shown by a very interesting picture in this Collection, and the explanation given of the scene. The picture represents a view of the interior of a Criminal Court of Justice, called the "Consoo House," with the assembled judges, officers, criminals, witnesses, and spectators, to the number of more than a hundred figures, all assembled on the occasion of a trial of some Chinese sailors, for an alleged act of piracy and

murder committed by them upon a French captain and his crew, at a short distance from Macao. The scene is deeply interesting, as a picture of native manners; but its history, which is thus given, is still more valuable, as illustrative of national character. The French ship, Navigateur, put into Cochin China in distress; and being there sold to the government of that country, the French captain and crew took their passage for Macao in a Chinese junk bound to Fokien. A conspiracy was formed on board to murder all the Frenchmen, and obtain the sum paid for the purchase of their ship—about 100,000 dollars, then in specie on board; but a Chinese passenger, bound to Fokien, intimating this to one of the Frenchmen, they were enabled, by being constantly on their guard, to defeat the object till they reached the Ladrone Islands. Here the Chinese passengers bound for Macao, of whom there were four, left the junk; and the Frenchmen, believing themselves to be out of danger, and exhausted by perpetual watching, sunk into a fatal repose, during which they were all murdered in the night, except one, a youth of 19, who, after receiving several wounds, escaped by leaping into the sea. He was picked up by a fishing-boat, and landed at Macao, where he gave information of the murder; and by timely measures on the part of the Chinese government, the junk was seized on its entering the port of Fokien, and its ill-gotten treasure and crew seized. They were tried and found guilty by the Court of their district, and then sent down to Canton by order of the Emperor, to be confronted with the young French sailor, the only one who had been

saved. They were all brought into Court in wooden cages, each man separate, to prevent collusion, as represented in the picture. From these they were taken out, one by one, and presented to the young Frenchman, who was able to recognize 17 out of the 24. Among them, however, was the Chinese passenger for Fokien, who, having entered the port with the junk, was seized with the crew, as one of the guilty parties; though in reality, he was not only innocent, but had been the revealer of the plot to the Frenchmen, by which, while they were vigilant and watchful, they had preserved their lives. As soon as this passenger was taken from his cage, the young Frenchman recognized him as his friend, and they instantly embraced each other with great warmth. This is also portrayed in the picture. The judge demanding an explanation of this act, was made acquainted with the cause of it by the young Frenchman himself, through the interpreters, and he was instantly set at liberty. The 17 convicted murderers were then condemned to death, and a few days afterwards were beheaded in the presence of the foreigners, while the captain of the junk was put to a lingering death, as the punishment of a traitor; and the stolen treasures were all restored to the representative of the French nation, for the use of the heirs or other proper claimants whose right to it should be established. The young Frenchman whose life was saved, having however no share in this, as he was merely one of the crew, and being, therefore, without funds, a purse was made up for him by the Chinese as well as foreigners, by which he was enabled to return to his native home.

There are not many of the nations of civilized Europe, as its inhabitants are accustomed to call it, which would exhibit more of justice or generosity, than these "barbarians," as we thoughtlessly call the Chinese, did in this instance; and one's estimate of the people rises higher by such scenes and narratives as these. There is something more authentic even than this pictorial representation of a Chinese Court of Justice, among the documents exhibited in this Collection, which show the character of the people and government in a very amiable light. This is a port-clearance, or "chop," as it is called, granted by the chief officer of the customs at Canton, to an American vessel, the same as is granted to all foreign ships that clear out from their ports. It certifies that all the regulations of the port have been complied with, and that all debts due by the ship to government, as well as to individuals, have been discharged; and it requires the commander of the fort at the entrance of the river, "to allow the ship to pass unmolested, and in case of accident befalling her *any where within the Chinese waters*, it enjoins upon the mandarins to render *every aid in their power, free of all charges.*" There is certainly no nation in Europe or America that would do thus much for any Chinese vessel wrecked on their coasts.

In the latest edict also published by the High Commissioner at Canton, in the last year, against the introduction of opium into their port, a copy of which is among the documents in this Collection, it is impossible not to recognize a degree of justice, clemency, and wisdom, rarely united, in the state

papers of other lands. After enumerating the many advantages heretofore enjoyed by the foreigners in their trade with Canton, the Commissioner says— "You must then fear the laws, and in seeking profit for yourselves, you must not do hurt to others. Why do you bring to our land the opium, which, in your own country, is not used; by it, defrauding men of their property, and causing injury to their lives? I find that with this thing you have seduced and deluded the people of China for tens of years past; and countless are the unjust hoards that you have thus acquired. Should I search closely into the offences thus committed, in forcing, for a number of years, the sale of opium, against the laws, they would be found already beyond the bounds of indulgence. But reflecting that the foreigners who have offended are men from distant lands, and that they may not have been aware that the laws prohibiting the introduction of opium were so severe, I cannot bear, in the present plain enforcement of the laws and restrictions, to cut them off at once without instructive monition." The document then goes on to state that all men being now convinced that this opium is a nauseous poison, its importation must be prevented; and it calls upon all the foreigners who desire to maintain their future intercourse with China, to deliver up such quantities of it as are in their hands to be destroyed; and then sign an engagement not to import any more. If they will simply do this, the past shall be forgiven; trade in all other articles be allowed as before; and even some imperial reward is promised for the manifestation of this good disposition. What nation of Europe

would ever think of such clemency and consideration as this? Yet such is the picture which is presented of the Chinese government, as well as people, by the inspection of this interesting Collection.

Of their manners and customs, every part of the Museum contains some tangible and impressive illustration. We learn from it that the female portion of the nation are much more free and unrestrained than those of most other Asiatic nations. The bandaging of the feet, so as to retain them of a small size by pressure, is, no doubt, an absurd and pain-creating custom; but it is doubtful whether it affects the health of the individual so prejudicially as the custom of preserving small waists by tight lacing, and preventing the free action of the heart and lungs by constant compression. There are fewer spinal distortions, and fewer cases of consumption, it is said, in China, than in Europe or America, and the general health of the female population is much better.

The small feet are valued as a mark of rank, just as small and white hands are with us deemed proofs of gentility, by showing their possessors to belong to the idle classes. This is the prejudice of countries in which labour is thought dishonourable. In China, small feet are more valued than small hands—and therefore, one daughter of almost every family, however poor, has this mark of gentility reserved to her, for the honour of the whole; just as, by the law of primogeniture with us, one son has the exclusive title and exclusive property, while the others must become pensioners of the State; or labour, while the elder son preserves the honour of the family name.

Such are the caprices of custom. The women go unveiled, dress superbly, and indulge in personal ornaments. Music, of a national kind, is cultivated and practised by them. Fans for the warm weather, and finger-warmers for cold weather, in small open wire-worked baskets, of silver or other metal, like a chafing-dish of charcoal, are used by both sexes; and the fan indeed is seldom laid aside by either. Perfumes are abundantly used, about the person and the house. Mirrors are almost universal, and there are some very ancient ones in the Collection, made of polished steel, and set in highly-carved ivory frames, used in China before the invention or introduction of glass. Their marriages are matters of great public splendour, according to their means: a numerous offspring is accounted a blessing; while barrenness, as well as adultery, thieving, inveterate infirmities, ill temper, and talkativeness, are all grounds of divorce, by husbands who choose to press them. Funerals are very costly; huge coffins of expensive wood are used; and the bodies are often kept above ground for years, waiting for some fortunate conjunction of things deemed favourable to the repose of the dead. A model of such coffin is seen in the Collection; as well as the figure of a gentleman in mourning, of the size of life, clothed in the coarsest "sackcloth," with a frame-work above his head, used for throwing on it "dust and ashes."

In their festivals and in their maxims, the character and genius of the nation is especially seen, as these are of universal observance and reverence. In the Festival of the New Year, all labour is inter-

mitted for several days, public business is suspended, and servants dress themselves in the finest apparel; visits and presents are interchanged between families and friends; and gaiety and happiness pervade all ranks and classes. The national *disposition* is evinced in this; as cheerfulness and love of pleasure, which are Chinese characteristics, find free vent on this occasion. In the Feast of Lanterns, the national *taste* is fully displayed: the ingenuity manifested in the construction and decoration of lanterns, is carried to the highest pitch that rivalry and competition can stimulate them to exhibit it; and it is thought that on this occasion, not less than 200,000,000 of lanterns, of every form, size, and degree of ornament and costliness, are blazing at the same moment throughout the empire! In their annual trial of skill in agricultural operations, and their triennial trial of skill in boat-racing, the national *industry* in two great departments of life is shown; for in a country where 600,000,000 of acres are cultivated for sustenance, and where many millions of families live wholly in boats, and never go on shore but for business or recreation—40,000 persons so living on the river of Canton alone—the pursuits of agriculture and river-navigation must be of the greatest national importance. In their festivals in honour of the dead, and their anniversary of general thanksgiving, the *social* and *religious* feelings of the nation have their appropriate gratification; and representations of all these are seen in this Collection.

The maxims of the Chinese are very remarkable, and around the Museum these are inscribed on

tablets and in niches, on pannels, and on scrolls, in every variety of form and material. In the shop or store,—the interior of which is exhibited, with the buyer and seller, and a casual visitor, all of the full size, and in the natural attitudes of life,—several of the maxims suited to such a place are inscribed on the walls, and most of them would be worth inscribing on the shop-doors of other nations—such as "Gossipping and long sitting injure business." "Former customers have inspired caution: no credit given." In the libraries of the literati, other maxims more appropriate may be seen—as "The cure of ignorance is study, as meat is that of hunger." "Following virtue is like ascending a steep height: following vice is like rushing down a precipice." The opulent merchant is reminded by other maxims, that "Man sometimes perishes in the pursuit of wealth, as a bird meets destruction in the bait set to ensnare it as food." The humble labourer is consoled by the maxim, that "Unsullied poverty is always happy; while impure wealth brings with it many sorrows." Lawyers may learn wisdom from the maxim, that "Petty distinctions are injurious to rectitude; and quibbling words violate right reason." The dissipated and idle are told that "Those who respect themselves will be honourable: but he who thinks lightly of himself, will be held cheap by the world." And the seeker after health and pleasure, as the great charms of life, is assured, that "Virtue is the surest road to longevity; but vice meets with an early doom." If the Proverbs of Solomon be regarded as evidences of his wisdom, it would be difficult to show that these maxims do not evince

great knowledge of human nature, and wise as well as benevolent counsel.

The American visitor entering this Museum, if he examines closely what it contains, and weighs considerately the illustrations offered of the policy by which China is governed, and through the exercise of which its commerce and tranquillity have so long been preserved, may learn most valuable lessons, especially in contrasting what is said of this policy by the clear-sighted and intelligent writer of the observations appended to the descriptive catalogue, which he holds in his hand; in which occurs the following striking contrast. The education of the Chinese, he says, consists not so much in the *knowledge* which they receive at their schools, as in the early, constant, vigorous, and efficient *training* of the disposition, manners, judgment, and habits, both of thought and conduct. This most efficient part of education, he adds, is almost wholly overlooked and neglected by the Americans; but it is well understood and attended to by the Chinese. The greatest pains are taken to acquaint the people with their personal and political duties, wherein, he says, "they again set us, the Americans, an example worthy of imitation. *Our rights*, is a phrase in everybody's mouth here; but *our duties*, engage but a small portion of our thoughts: and yet that a proper discharge of the one is as essential to the prosperity, happiness, and stability of a nation, who can for a moment doubt?"

It appears that twice in every month, there are read to the whole population of China, the sixteen discourses of one of their former emperors, on

the sacred institutes of another of his predecessors; and both the texts of these discourses, and a portion of the comments on them, are subjoined, as depicting in their brief injunctions the framework of Chinese society; and displaying, in the discourses on the maxims, a perfectly just appreciation of their value, as well as a clear perception of the principles and reasons on which they are founded. Among the most conspicuous of the injunctions are—"Be strenuous in filial piety and fraternal respect, that you may thus duly perform the social duties. Agree with your countrymen and neighbours, that disputes and litigation may be prevented. Observe moderation and economy, that your property may not be wasted. Extend your schools of instruction, that learning may be duly cultivated. Attend each to your proper employments, that the people may be fixed in their purposes. Abstain from false accusing, that the good and honest may be in safety. Reconcile animosities, that your lives be not duly hazarded." Such are some of the institutes of one of their emperors. It would be difficult to cull a greater amount of practical wisdom from the writings or speeches of any European sovereign or American president, than these contain; and when the imperial commentator, in the person of a subsequent emperor, enlarges on the reasons on which these maxims are founded, he exhibits a degree of knowledge and virtue rarely seen in sovereigns; and his observations might be read and acted upon with great advantage, by a large majority of the youths of both sexes in both hemispheres; for, in both, the duty that he enforces is growing every year less in estimation and less in

practice.—"This filial piety," says the emperor, "is a doctrine from heaven, the consummation of earthly justice, the grand principle of action among mankind. The man who knows not piety to parents, can surely not have considered the affectionate hearts of parents towards their children. When still infants in arms—hungry, they could not feed themselves; cold, they could not clothe themselves; but they had their parents, who watched the sound of their voice, and studied the traits of their countenance; who were joyful when they smiled; afflicted when they wept; who followed them, step by step, when they moved; who, when they were sick or in pain, refused food and sleep on their account. Thus were they nursed and educated till they grew up to manhood." Again, to rebuke the vain and self-sufficient, and to put down all pedantry and false pretences to eminence, the emperor says—"Wisdom should precede, and letters follow; he who pretends to profound learning, without regarding first himself and his own duties,—fame, indeed, he may acquire, but when he is examined, he will be found to possess no solidity." The fruits of these maxims, and their general observance, are accordingly seen in the fact of "a stable throne; a country enjoying an extraordinary degree of internal quiet; a population, mild, peaceable, obedient, cheerful, and industrious; and a perpetuity of national existence unequalled in the world's history."

And yet, among such a people, have the traders of two of "the most civilized and Christian nations of the world," for so they call themselves, been for the last twenty years endeavouring to introduce the

poisonous and demoralizing drug of opium, for what, in this instance at least, may be truly called, "the filthy lucre of gain." We talk of bombarding their towns, and burning, sinking, and destroying their ships and boats, so as to compel them to receive this curse and abomination against their own laws and edicts; while sending them missions, bibles, and tracts, to convert them! offering them Christianity with the one hand; and in the other, giving them a choice between being degraded and demoralized by opium, or slaughtered in war? It is impossible that a visitor can walk through this Museum, and see and know the nation and people it represents, in the multiplied evidences of their knowledge, courtesy, and kind-heartedness, which he sees around him, without feeling indignant at the avarice and arrogance displayed in the conduct of those who pretend to be their superiors. And if this were the only effect of such a visit—awakening the sympathies of thousands in behalf of a hitherto misrepresented and now greatly injured people—it must produce good, just in proportion to the numbers who visit it.

For myself, during all the time I was beneath the roof of this beautiful hall, whether in the bright sun-light of the clear and brilliant mornings, or in the still more dazzling effulgence of the lighted lamps and lanterns at night, I felt a constant and increasing desire to see a similar Collection made and established in London; and not only a Museum of every thing that could convey correct impressions of China, but of every other country, as far as practicable, in the world. What an interesting and

valuable appendage it would be, for instance, to the education of youth, to be able to take every student, who had finished his course, and whose limited means or professional pursuits deprived him of the advantage of travel, to a series of such Collections as these, attached to the British Museum, formed and sustained at the national expense. A million sterling would procure and complete as fine a Collection as this, of China, India, Persia, Turkey, Egypt, Palestine, Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, Holland, Austria, Prussia, Russia, the Pacific Isles, Australia, and the two Americas, with Northern and Southern Africa. The tour of the globe might thus be made in London; the figures of the inhabitants, their habitations, dresses, arts, and manufactures, the natural productions of their respective countries, might all be arranged in a space not larger than the area of the present British Museum; and a sum equal to that of building a single bridge over the Thames, or constructing a single tunnel underneath it; a sum not greater than it will cost to build the Houses of Parliament; or than has been spent in a single week in London in revelry, pomp, and nothingness; such a sum would effect all that these National Collections would require. The objects to be attained by it would indeed be cheap at such a price—first, the innocent and instructive gratification of millions of visitors, for centuries to come, in the mere inspection of their contents; secondly, the increase of much new information, and the correction of many old errors, with respect to all the countries represented; and, lastly, and above all, the breaking down of prejudices and antipathies;

the substituting in their stead kindly feelings and sympathies; the adding new links to the chain of union and friendship, interest and pleasure, between countries now ignorant of and despising each other; and the possible imitation of such Collections, and the production of similar effects, in all the capitals of the world. These objects are so good and great, and the expense of accomplishing them would, to a nation like England, be so small, that I sincerely hope the day will come, and that speedily, when such a work will be undertaken and carried forward to completion*.

* It is hoped that the inspection of this Chinese Museum, which, since this was written, has happily been transferred to London, will induce some of our statesmen to turn their attention to this suggestion, and act upon it in practice.

CHAP. XXII.

Visit to Germantown—Preaching House of William Penn—Tarring and feathering a venerable Quaker—Silence of the press on this outrage—Comparison of Chinese training with American instruction—Depravity of youth, and causes of its increasing—Aversion to labour and preference of speculation—Opinion of the Rev. Dr. Channing—Profligacy of newspapers—Religious revivals—Mania for speculation—Bubbles of Merino sheep—Causes of failure in the Morus Multicaulis speculation—High price of land near Germantown—General Washington's government removed here—Scenes of the yellow fever in Philadelphia—Present healthiness of this neighbourhood—Churches—Sects—Newspapers—Lyceum—General taste and character of the inhabitants—Visit to the Schuylkill Water-works.

During my stay in Philadelphia, I paid a visit to Germantown, one of the first settlements of Pennsylvania, and anterior, in point of actual foundation, to Philadelphia itself. It is distant from this city about six miles, in a north-east direction, and lies about four miles west of the river Delaware, and two miles east of the Schuylkill. It is on a ridge or elevation, which rises nearly 200 feet above the level of Philadelphia, and has some pretty views, a good soil, and fine air and water, which makes it a very desirable retirement for the merchants of Philadelphia, many of whom reside here with their families, and go to the city daily, as merchants do from

Hampstead or Dulwich to London. The town consists only of one long street, the longest perhaps in the United States, for it is nearly five miles in extent. As the occupants of the houses on each side of this street are in general owners of the ground in their rear, to a considerable distance from their dwellings, no one will part with any portion of it for building on; so that as no addition of parallel streets can be made, to increase the breadth of the town, every addition that is made must be to its length, and this is increasing every year. The houses of the central part are in general very ancient for this country, many being upwards of a century old. These are mostly built of stone, roughly quarried, and not hewn into shape, but cemented with mortar, and pointed with white lime, like the stone houses so frequently seen in the country in most parts of Yorkshire. Their steep sloping roofs, tiled with shingle, which acquires a blueish tinge by age, that makes it look like slate, and their tall chimnies, and projecting garret windows, have a very antique appearance. The main and only street is an unpaved road; the side-walks are considerably elevated, and in many parts covered with flat slabs of stone, while trees and gardens come up to the rear of each house, beyond which is the open country. The whole aspect of the place is more like that of an English village than anything I have before seen in the United States.

It appears that Germantown was first laid out in 1682, when there were as yet no houses actually built in Philadelphia; though in a very curious document of that date, relating to lots of land for building

in Germantown, and written and signed in a cave or pit on the banks of the Delaware, the "City of Philadelphia" is the name given to Penn's first establishment. These caves or pits were the temporary residences of the first settlers, occupied by them as tents while the houses were building. The original document recording this, which is curious also for the names of the parties signing it, is now in the family of the late Benjamin Lehman, in Germantown, and the following is an authentic copy of it—

"We certify, that on the 4th day of April, 1682, we met in the city of Philadelphia, on the bank of the Delaware, in the *cave* of Francis Daniel Pastorius, there to draw lots for the choice of lots in Germantown, now about being laid out.

"Francis Daniel Pastorius,
"Mathias Van Bibber,
"Dirk Jansen,
"Jacob Frederick Updegraff."

The identical house in which William Penn preached, is still existing, in a meadow, beside a small stream, just below the embankment of the railroad that runs into the town from Philadelphia. It has the date of 1682 over the doorway, which was the year in which Philadelphia was founded. There are not many older houses in the United States than this now remaining. One is at Boston, dated 1680; but a much older one exists at Old Guildford, in Connecticut, built in 1639, by the Rev. Mr. Whitfield, not the celebrated George Whitefield, but the pastor who led the first settlers to Guildford, and was their minister there; and a still older one than this is said to exist at Augustine, in Florida, a very old settlement of the Spaniards. This house of William Penn

at Germantown, is now used as a barn and store-house for a neighbouring mill; and it is apprehended that in a year or two at farthest, it will be torn down, if indeed it does not fall before that time, as it is a double-framed-wall house, filled up with mortar, now crumbling away—and has undergone no repair, nor had any care whatever bestowed on it for many years, the owner of it having no veneration for antiquities or associations; and his fellow-townsmen being not very different from himself in this respect; so that it is probable that if 100 dollars could save it from destruction, that small sum could not be raised for the purpose among them, though there is considerable wealth in the place.

The number of the inhabitants living in Germantown are estimated at about 6,000; of whom a large number are of German descent, and as large a number of Quaker ancestors. Some of the former still speak German, and some of the latter still wear the Quaker dress; but the greater number of both are now so amalgamated with the rest of the community, that in half a century more, the distinctions between them will not be perceptible. A large proportion of the families of the oldest descent here, are wealthy; and as their habits are simple, and their expenditure moderate, they add to their wealth every year. It was deemed, until lately, one of the most quiet and orderly communities in the Union; and perhaps it may still be so considered, in comparison with others.

But as all the towns in the country seem of late to have grown less peaceful, and more of disorder to abound in them than was ever known before; so Germantown has partaken of its share of this general

deterioration. Ten years ago, it was said there was not a person residing in the town who had been known to fail, or become a defaulter in business; and to be a bankrupt would hardly have been deemed more a misfortune than a disgrace. Now, it was said, there were at least fifty such persons in the town, who had come out here from Philadelphia. Formerly, a robbery was rarely heard of; now they were frequent; and within the last week, some housebreakers had bored through the window-shutters of a gentleman's dwelling at night, and unbolting them inside, had entered and carried off all his plate and other valuables. Formerly, fires also were very rare; now they were of not unfrequent occurrence, but these seem on the increase all over the country; for on the evening of my coming in from Germantown to Philadelphia, there was one fire in the former, and three in the latter place on the same night. In the papers of the next day there was an account of the burning of Wilmington, in Delaware, for the fourth or fifth time—it being considered "a doomed city," that was the expression used; while Wilmington, in North Carolina, had been nearly destroyed by fire, not long before. A reward of 200 dollars was also offered, in the same paper, for the discovery of the incendiaries who had set fire to Newark, in New Jersey; and a paragraph from the Pensacola Gazette, all published in the paper of the same day, after describing two attempts made by incendiaries to fire that city, in Florida, says—"It is clear that something must be done, and that immediately, to protect our city against these fiendish acts, or we shall soon have no city to pro-

tect;" and the apprehension was well grounded, seeing that their neighbouring city of Mobile, in Alabama, had been so recently laid in ashes by six or seven successive conflagrations within a few short weeks!

The more reflecting portion of the community are beginning to be alarmed at this fearful increase of recklessness and crime all around them, for the records of these atrocities come from far and near. They have no longer now to look to Vicksburg and Natchez for atrocities which a few years ago were thought to be confined to the great valley of the Mississippi; for here, within a short distance of the city of Brotherly Love, an outrage has been perpetrated, which would, in other days, have made every Pennsylvanian blush for the honour of his State, and the fame of its founder; but which is now heard without astonishment, and promulgated without any other condemnation than that which is conveyed by the epithet under which it is described. This is the record of the fact, taken from the Philadelphia National Gazette, of March 5—

"OUTRAGE.—An extraordinary outrage was perpetrated on Sunday night, on the person of a Friend of this city, Daniel Neal. He was travelling quietly with a preaching party of his sect, in the neighbouring State of Delaware, and was, up to the date of the outrage, everywhere kindly received by members of his denomination, as is customary on such occasions in the country, among Friends. But the word was uttered that Mr. Neal was an abolitionist — a preaching abolitionist,—though he had not addressed any religious meeting, and was merely a silent member of an ordinary travelling religious party. Accordingly, maugre his protestations to the contrary, he was forcibly dragged from his stopping place, two miles from Smyrna, to that town, tarred,

and feathered, and ridden on a rail. The venerable sufferer (who is an old and feeble man) uttered during the whole time no word of complaint, but 'held his peace.'"

What, in this venerable sufferer, was, perhaps, a Christian virtue—silence—as a proof of his resignation, and the absence of all vindictive feeling—could hardly be so deemed, in the press and the community, whose duty it was to hold up the offenders to merited censure, and by arresting and imprisoning them, prevent their bad example from encouraging others to do the like, by showing that such crimes could not be committed with impunity. Yet not only were both the press and the people silent to a criminal degree, but I was assured by all whom I questioned on this subject, that there was not the slightest chance of the matter being taken up by any of the public authorities, in whose jurisdiction the case lay, or of any sort of redress being made to the injured individual, or to the community, for the outrage committed. If such an atrocity as this had been perpetrated towards a feeble old man, of innocent purposes and unblemished character, by a party of "barbarians" in China, even if he had been a foreigner and of another religion from that of the country, what an outcry would have been made against their conduct! But here is a venerable fellow-citizen and fellow-Christian (for these tarring and feathering ruffians call themselves Christians also, and pretend to defend slavery by the Old and New Testaments, as well as by the bludgeon and the rail), travelling with two Quaker females, his wife, and one of the preachers of their sect, on a purely religious mission to their own body, and having nothing to do with any other object what-

ever, treated with more barbarity in the land of his own home, "the land of freedom," than he would have been among the most savage tribe or nation under the sun. This is not done for want of *instruction* among the American people, for they have more of this than the people of any other nation; but it is for the want of that *training* and discipline, which the Chinese think, and think wisely, is as necessary as instruction. The youths of America are neither taught by precept or example, the duty they owe to age in general, or to their own parents in particular; they become their own masters at an age when the passions being too strong for the reason, can only be kept in subjection by parental or other authority, neither of which are exercised. and they accordingly riot in unrestrained career. This is beginning to be felt as a most portentous evil by many, and has already been made the subject of public animadversion in one of the journals of the city, in the following language—

"The establishment of public schools, if we may judge from appearances in Philadelphia, will not effect as much immediate good as was reasonably anticipated. Opposed to the moral advantages which might arise from those means of instruction, there is a general laxity in the administration of those laws which were intended to prevent idleness and restrain dissipation; hence there is almost daily a visible deterioration of public morals, which must, and evidently *does*, affect the rising generation deeply. We question if any former period in the annals of this city could exhibit a tithe of those numerous, varied, and deplorable instances of juvenile vice which are now constantly presented to our observation. Boys who have scarcely attained to half the years of maturity, are already confirmed in evil habits, which are rarely eradicated, and thus they are, *permanently*, it may be, disquali-

fied for the duties of citizenship, long before they are entitled by age to enter on the discharge of those duties. There are hundreds of grog-shops and gaming-houses in the suburbs, and some in the heart of the city, where children are permitted and encouraged to indulge in those excesses which brutalize the character, and prepare the individual for a life of dishonesty and shame."

To this early demoralization of the youth must be added, the manner in which they too frequently pass the greater portion of their time when they grow up. Their aversion to anything like manual labour for subsistence is so strong, that everyone who can possibly mark out for himself a path by which he can avoid this, is sure to do it. A gentleman of Philadelphia said to me, that he considered three-fourths of the men of this country to be mere "Gil Blas's;" and when I asked him what he meant, he replied, "Why, mere adventurers, living by their wits, and lying in wait for every opportunity to take advantage of their neighbour." I reproved him for his illiberality and severity, as I have often had occasion to do with Americans before, and told him what I have told others, that though they are so angry at the censures passed on them by English writers, no book has ever yet appeared which was half so severe as a work would be, made up only of their own opinions and expressions of the character of their government and their countrymen, taken down verbatim from their own lips, and published without comment to the world. This feature of American society, however, in the number of adventurers crowded into every large city, from aversion to labour, and preference of speculation, is well described by a faithful and competent delineator, the Rev. Dr. Channing,

of Boston, who, in a lecture delivered by him, in the last month, "On the elevation of the labouring portion of the community," and just issued from the press, deprecates this aversion to habits of regular industry, and says—"We need this admonition, because at the present moment there is a general disposition to shun labour, and this ought to be regarded as a bad sign of our times. The city is thronged with adventurers from the country, and the liberal professions are overstocked, in the hope of escaping the primeval sentence of living by the sweat of the brow; and to this crowding of men into trade, we owe not only the neglect of agriculture, but what is far worse, the demoralization of the community. It generates excessive competition, which of necessity generates fraud. Trade is turned to gambling, and a spirit of mad speculation exposes public and private interests to a disastrous instability." The present condition of the country, and the increased evils engendered by this state of things, confirms the truth of this picture.

The large and unreasonable portion of time given to political reading, political meetings, and political conversations, is a most unprofitable thing for the community generally; besides having its share in increasing the excitability to passion, and consequently to violence, already too strong. This feature of American society has been also accurately portrayed by the same able pen. He says—"A great amount of time, which, if well used, would form an enlightened population, is now wasted on newspapers and conversations, which inflame the passions, which unscrupulously distort the truth, which

denounce moral independence as treachery to one's party, which agitate the country for no higher end than a triumph over opponents; and thus multitudes are degraded into men-worshippers or men-haters, into the dupes of the ambitious, or the slaves of a faction. The fiery spirits are not confined to any one portion of the community; all classes partake of the madness, and all are debased by it." Such are the opinions of one of the true friends of his countrymen, and who is deserving especial honour for the moral courage with which he addresses these salutary truths and wholesome reproofs to their attention.

As to the newspapers of the country, and the pernicious influence exercised by them over the minds of the unreflecting, which constitute a large mass of every community, every day furnishes melancholy proofs of its increasing power and effects. The New York Morning Herald, which has more obscenity, irreligion, and private slander in it than is to be found in all the papers of the State besides, has an immense circulation in all classes. Females, married and single, talk without scruple of the "exposures" in Bennett's paper, and laugh without the least apparent sense of shame at the "jokes" in it; many of which would raise a blush upon any female cheek in England, to hear them even alluded to, and the greater number of which would be thrown down with disgust; having contempt for religion, morality, and decency, marked on their front. Though few ladies are seen reading this paper openly, yet it is hawked about the streets of every large city in the Union by news-boys, and is purchased by servants, and taken to their mistresses' bed-

rooms; while many gentlemen even read it by stealth, and hardly avow their habitual perusal of its unprincipled, and contaminating pages. But even the larger and more respectable papers contain, every day, articles which betray a heartlessness and levity on the part of those who write and publish them, which, if long continued, cannot fail to sap the very foundations of social morality. I present only one example out of a hundred that might be quoted from the papers of a single month; and this I take from a recently-established journal of unusual pretentions to excellence and purity, as a "family newspaper," and addressed to wives and mothers, as well as their children. It is "The New World," edited by Mr. Park Benjamin, one of the most experienced of the New York editors, who—like General Morris, the editor of the New York Mirror, a lady's-parlour paper—can write poetry to suit all tastes, devotional, moralizing, bacchanalian, or amatory; and who, in the same paper in which he publishes on one page a sermon of the Rev. Dr. Channing on the burning of the Lexington steamer, and the sufferings of the victims thus suddenly hurried to a premature grave; has on another page the following, for the information of his "fair readers"—

"CREED OF A PRETTY WOMAN.

"I believe that a Cashmere shawl is to a woman an object of the first necessity.

"I believe that marriage is a municipal formality, in which there is nothing embarrassing, which is susceptible of modifications according to the humour of the contracting parties.

"I believe that the first virtue of woman is coquetry; the greatest defect, maturity; and her greatest crime, old age.

"I believe that the Salique law is a monument of barbarism which disgraces the European codes.

"I believe that Joan of Arc was the greatest *man* that the world ever produced, and that Ninon d l'Enclos was the greatest woman.

"I believe that paint is more necessary to the heart of a woman than to her complexion.

"I believe that a woman should rather want bread than a gown or a hat *à-la-mode*.

"I believe that fashion is the goddess of women and the tyrant of men.

"I believe that an English lord who has plenty of guineas, and a great wish to spend them in company, is the most witty, the most airy, and the most original of all beings.

"I believe that devotion is not incompatible with pleasure, and that any reasonable accommodation may be made with heaven.

"I believe that love is an act of stupidity, and friendship a contract for mutual deception.

"I believe that it was not a rib which God borrowed from Adam to form Eve, but his tongue, and that it is not our fault if we speak too much.

"I believe that matrimony is a very beautiful thing at a distance.

"I believe that conjugal tolerance is, in domestic affairs, what religious tolerance is in political ones."

It is no apology to say that this is meant as a satire or a joke. It is not so announced or expressed, and the familiarizing the mind of young females, by whom this paper is extensively read, the circulation being said to be 25,000 copies weekly, with such sentiments as these—especially as in the same paper, stories of stolen amours, and scenes at masqued-balls, are related in perfect keeping with such a creed, and without a word of reprobation—is as much calculated to sap the foundation of female morals, as the publication of police reports, drunken riots, seductions,

and brothel scenes, is daily uprooting the good feelings, and inflaming all the bad ones, of the male youths of the country; indeed, both taken together are fast working a general deterioration of morals, feelings, and manners, which cannot but be deeply lamented by the best friends of their country and mankind.

Simultaneously with this current of depravity running rapidly in this direction, flows the counter-current of religious enthusiasm in an opposite one. Protracted religious meetings and revivals agitate the comparatively tranquil community of Germantown, as much as the more busy population of Philadelphia. In one of the churches here, the New-Light Presbyterian, there have been meetings night and day, for nearly three weeks in succession; and in other churches of the village, meetings of a similar kind, but of less violent emotions, and of less extended duration. In all, however, excitement, passionate exclamation, vehement praying, moaning and lamentation, have been the chief features; until the paroxysm, like that of all other great excitements, gradually wore itself out by its own process of self-exhaustion; to be followed by a period of languor and inaction, till another occasion shall arise for a new revival.

The fondness for speculation, which springs from the love of excitement and the desire for gain blended together, has found its way to Germantown also; and been displayed in two separate and distinct manias, one in the purchase of Merino sheep, for breeding and producing wool of the finest quality; and the other in cultivating the Morus multicaulis tree for

the rearing of silkworms, and establishing coccooneries. In the high-fever of the first mania, the extravagant price of 1,800 dollars was given for a single ewe of the Merino breed; and 1,400 dollars for a lamb. An instance was related to me of the singular result of such a purchase, in the case of an individual who had strained every nerve to get together the money necessary to buy one of these lambs, for which he gave the price named. In the eagerness of his desire to secure this purchase beyond all power of retraction or annulment, he did not wait till he went home from Philadelphia in the evening to take his dear bargain with him, but sent it out by a special messenger to his house at Germantown in the forenoon, without any directions as to what was to be done with it. The wife, not knowing its cost, or indeed the exact object of the purchase, supposed that the lamb was intended for the larder, and probably meant for the Sunday's dinner; and considering that it would be the more tender if killed early, had it slaughtered and cleaned by the butcher of the village, and its skin taken off, so that when the eager husband arrived home at sunset, full of the most sanguine dreams as to the future fortune to be made out of this prolific Merino lamb, his horror and disappointment may be easily imagined, when he saw this precious purchase hanging up outside the door of the kitchen, killed for the table!

This Merino-bubble lasting its day, at length burst, and gave place to the Morus multicaulis mania, which raged its appointed time, and then abated also. I was shown the grounds of a large plantation of this tree, by which three successive adventurers had made

large sums of money—50,000 and 60,000 dollars each; but the fourth and fifth adventurers lost as much; the last owner of it being reduced from comparative opulence to poverty; and a large coccoonery, built at an immense expense, lying idle and unproductive. The element which was overlooked in these speculations, was the important one of population to reel off the silk when made and prepare it for market. The trees could be grown to any extent, for soil and climate are both favourable to their production; the silkworms could be multiplied to any number, by proper attention to their feeding and separation. But, for the last stage of the operation, winding off the silk thread from the coccoons on reels for the use of the spinner and weaver, no provision was made. In a dense population like that of China, or India, or France, or Italy, any number of hands can be procured, at a very low rate of wages, to perform this labour; but here, where the commonest work is paid for at the rate of a dollar a day, and where men especially are indisposed to this description of confinement as well as labour, it would be impossible to obtain any great number of hands to do the necessary work, except at rates of wages which would make the silk produced in this country cost more than it could be had for if imported from Europe or Asia. This, of course, would destroy all the advantages derived from the growth of the trees, and the rearing of the silkworms, for which both soil and climate are undoubtedly favourable; but whenever the increase of population shall render it a question of national policy to find occupation for

the surplus, this preparation and manufacture of silk will be a valuable resource.

The land in the neighbourhood of Germantown is of high value, compared with its price in other parts of the country; 500 dollars, or 100*l.* sterling, per acre can be had for almost any portions suitable for tillage and pasture, and much higher prices for building; but, for the reasons before assigned, none of the proprietors can be prevailed on, at any price yet offered at least, to part with any of their lands for this purpose, except at the two extremities of the town. A square plot of about 24 acres, a mile distant from the town, and belonging to an old family at Albany, in the State of New York, was about to be offered for sale; and though purchased by them at 8 dollars only per acre, it was thought probable, notwithstanding the depressed state of the times, that it would be readily bought up at 600 dollars per acre, and be thought an excellent purchase at that rate!

During the terrible ravages committed in Philadelphia by the yellow-fever, in 1793, the seat of the general government, then at Philadelphia, was removed out to Germantown, which was perfectly healthy. General Washington was then President, and Mr. Jefferson was one of the Secretaries of State; and the house in which they lived is still shown and honoured on that account; as well as the house in which Lafayette lived, during the short stay that he made here in 1826. Of the dreadful visitation of the yellow-fever, which has not afflicted Philadelphia ever since, being now confined to the cities of

the South, I met with some of the old inhabitants here, who had been eye-witnesses, having fled from the pestilence at the time, to seek refuge in Germantown, which was perfectly healthy, and remained there ever since. Their recollections of this period, confirmed to the full extent the accuracy of the fearful picture drawn from the life at the time, and left on record in the following language of the historian of this calamity, Brown—

"The city was involved in confusion and panic. Magistrates and citizens were flying to the country. The numbers of the sick multiplied beyond all example, even in the pest-afflicted cities of the Levant. The malady was malignant and unsparing. The usual occupations and amusements of life were at an end. Terror had exterminated all the sentiments of nature. Wives were deserted by husbands, and children by parents. Some had shut themselves up in their houses, and debarred themselves from all communication with the rest of mankind. The consternation of others had destroyed their understandings; and their misguided steps hurried them into the midst of the danger which they had previously laboured to shun. Men were seized by this disease in the streets; passengers fled from them; entrance into their own dwellings was denied to them; they perished in the public ways. The chambers of disease were deserted, and the sick were left to die of negligence. None could be found to remove the lifeless bodies. Their remains, suffered to decay by piecemeal, filled the air with deadly exhalations, and added tenfold to the devastation. Every farm-house near the city was filled with supernumerary tenants, fugitives from home, and haunting the skirts of the road, eager to detain every passenger with inquiries after news. The passengers were numerous, for the tide of emigration was by no means exhausted. Some were on foot, bearing in their countenances the tokens of their recent terror, and filled with mournful reflections on the forlornness of their state. Few had secured to themselves an asylum; some were without the means of paying for victuals or lodging for the coming night; others, who were

not thus destitute, yet knew not whither to apply for entertainment, every house being already overstocked with inhabitants, or barring its inhospitable door at their approach. Families of weeping mothers and dismayed children, attended with a few pieces of indispensable furniture, were carried in vehicles of every form. The parent or husband had perished; and the price of some moveable, or the pittance handed forth by public charity, had been expended to purchase the means of retiring from this theatre of disasters, though uncertain and hopeless of accommodation in the neighbouring districts. Between these and the fugitives whom curiosity had led to the road, dialogues frequently took place, to which I was suffered to listen. From every mouth the tale of sorrow was repeated, with new aggravations. Pictures of their own distress, or of that of their neighbours, were exhibited in all the hues which imagination can annex to pestilence and poverty."

At present, Philadelphia is perhaps as healthy a city as any in the Union, and Germantown has few spots more salubrious than itself on the surface of the globe. The population comprises an unusual proportion of persons living, if not in affluence, at least very much at their ease. The Quaker and German tastes have produced a love of substantial comfort rather than show; and accordingly, the interiors of the dwellings are often better than their exteriors would lead the visitor to expect. The absence of business pursuits leads to literary and studious habits, and this is evidenced in the private libraries and conversations of the best circles.

There are 7 churches in Germantown, including 1 Episcopalian, 2 Presbyterian, the old and the new school, 1 Methodist, 1 Baptist, 1 Congregational, and 1 Quaker, but no Catholic. There is a weekly newspaper also, conducted with moderation, and neutral in politics; and a Lyceum, for the delivery

of weekly lectures on literary and scientific subjects. Here too, as in almost every other place that I had yet visited in America, I met an old acquaintance, the Count de Miolis, whom I had known in London and in Dublin: he was established here as a professor of languages, and taught French and Italian in the principal families of the place; having been, according to his own testimony, very happily established here for five or six years, and feeling no desire whatever to return to Europe, even if he had the power so to do.

Before we quitted Philadelphia, which there was no prospect of our ever again revisiting, we repeated our visit to the Schuylkill Water-works, one of the most picturesque and interesting objects in the neighbourhood of the city. It was stated to us here, that in the eagerness with which the Americans desire to obtain from foreign visitors of any note, their homage of praise to whatever they can show them of native execution, many persons had asked Captain Basil Hall, or Mr. Hamilton—for some gave the anecdote to one, and some to the other—on the first day of their arrival—Whether they had seen the Schuylkill Water-works? and repeated this question so often, that the traveller, whichever it was who was thus importuned, determined not to see it at all, and perversely denied himself a gratification, because he would not be "dictated to by others." Having no such scruples as this, we went often to this favourite place of resort, and were always gratified by our visits. The distance of the spot, Fairmount, is not more than a mile from the city. It is on the banks of the river Schuylkill, which is here about

1,000 feet broad, and 30 deep. The "mount" was converted into a large reservoir, along the foot of which the buildings are placed, and the river being dammed diagonally, a rapid of about 1,200 feet in length is produced, and a water-power created, of sufficient force to raise up into the reservoir more than 10 millions of gallons of water in 24 hours. From this, which is above the level of the highest dwelling-house in Philadelphia, the inhabitants are supplied daily, and the greatest benefits to health and purification are thus secured; while, as a place of pleasant resort, in its gardens, colonnades, fountains, kiosks, or pleasure arbours, single-arched covered bridge, and beautiful river scenery, it is highly agreeable both to the inhabitants and strangers.*

* See the accompanying Engraving.

J. C. Armytage.

CHAP. IV.

Journey to Baltimore—Plan of emigration for American free negroes to British Guiana—Purchase of large estates by emancipated negroes—Trial of bloodhounds to hunt the Indians in Florida—Remarkable resolutions in Congress on this subject—Criminal indictment of the Rev. R. Breckenridge—Controversy between the Catholics and Presbyterians—Libel, and description of the court and trial—Length of proceedings—Disagreement of the jury—Discharge of the case without a verdict—Disappointment and sectarian excitement—Subsequent preaching of the Rev. R. Breckenridge—Episcopal service at St. Paul's—Fashionable churches.

On Wednesday, the 11th of March, we left Philadelphia by the railroad cars, for Baltimore, on our way to the West, it having been found, upon inquiry, that the route across the country from Baltimore to Pittsburgh, by the great Cumberland road, was more agreeable for travelling than that by Harrisburgh and Carlisle, besides giving us the opportunity of visiting the celebrated meeting of the waters at Harper's Ferry, and seeing much of natural beauty there, and in the route beyond it. Though we had had such sultry weather in Philadelphia during the preceding week, the thermometer being at 65°, that light clothing was agreeable, yet the morning of our departure was intensely cold, a heavy fall of snow having taken place during the night, and the whole

face of the country being one sheet of white. We left the city at 8 o'clock, and as the day advanced, and we made progress to the south, the temperature improved, but it was like a December day all the way. We reached Baltimore at 3 o'clock, the distance being about 100 miles, the time occupied 7 hours, and the fare 4 dollars each.

In this our third visit to Baltimore, we were most cordially received by all our former friends here; and lived with the same family with whom we had previously boarded, finding there excellent accommodations and most agreeable society. We remained here about a fortnight.

In this visit we had the pleasure to make the acquaintance of an English gentleman, from Demarara, who, with his family, was an inmate of the same boarding-house with ourselves, and with whom, therefore, we were in daily communication. This gentleman, Mr. Edward Carbery, was a West India proprietor, and had come up to visit the United States for health and pleasure; but since his arrival here, he had become so impressed with the unfortunate condition of the free blacks of this country, and so convinced that their emigration to some of the British colonies, as free labourers, would be greatly to their advantage, as well as beneficial to the proprietors of Colonial estates, on which they might be disposed to work, that he had given publicity to his views on this subject, in a short pamphlet, bearing this title—"Inducements to the coloured people of the United States to emigrate to British Guiana. By a Friend to the coloured People." The statements and documents from which this pamphlet was

compiled were furnished by Mr. Carbery, but the pamphlet itself was printed and published in Boston, and had been extensively distributed among the free coloured people of all the Northern States, as well as here at Baltimore. Two public meetings had also been held in this city, to which the free coloured population were invited, and where Mr. Carbery addressed them on the subject. The result of these meetings was the appointment of a committee of free coloured persons belonging to this city, who nominated and deputed, at Mr. Carbery's suggestion, two delegates of their own body, to proceed to Guiana in person, at the expense of Mr. Carbery and his friends; there to examine into the truth of the statements made, as to the inducements for coloured people to go there as free labourers from this country, and return to report the result of their labours. This step has won, as it was well calculated to do, the confidence of the class appealed to; and the delegates having already reached their destination, are expected in a few weeks hence to return.

The pamphlet itself is of sufficient interest to repay the perusal of all the friends of the African race, as containing many highly interesting and important facts respecting the state of the coloured population in the United States, and the condition of the same race in Guiana; but the following may be mentioned as some of the most striking points in the contrast. In the United States, the free blacks are considered so inferior to the free whites, that they may be called a degraded caste. They occupy no offices or situations, but of the lowest kind; they

are not received into the company of the poorest white persons as equals; they are placed in galleries apart from the whites in places of public worship; are not admitted to the same sacramental table; and may be beaten and ill-treated with impunity. In British Guiana, according to the statement of the pamphlet, "colonial offices and dignities are held without distinction by white and coloured persons. Coloured men are indiscriminately drawn to sit as assessors on the bench of the Supreme Court. The coloured classes in Guiana are wealthy, influential, and highly respectable. Many of them are magistrates, proprietors, merchants with large establishments, and managers of estates receiving liberal salaries. The Collector of Customs at one of the ports is a person of colour, and many others hold public stations; colour, indeed, being no obstacle whatever to advancement or distinction."

So easy is it, however, for the free people of colour in Guiana, to obtain land of their own, improve it, and thus rise in wealth and station, that a great number of the emancipated negroes have betaken themselves to such a course. Consequently the number of working-men to be had for plantations are few, and much sugar and much coffee has been lost to the planters for the want of hands to gather it in; though labourers employed on the estates earn from 15 to 20 dollars a month, besides having a plot of ground large enough to raise more provisions than they can consume, for which no rent is paid; and medical attendance, fuel, and education for their children, free of all expense. A transition from the condition of the free black in America, to that of

the free black in Guiana, would be greater than almost any change yet known in the history of this unfortunate race, and is, therefore, on every account ardently to be desired. The fact is mentioned in this pamphlet, that some of the negroes who were emancipated from the condition of slaves in August, 1838, were enabled, in November, 1839, to club together their savings of wages and gains, and to purchase a plantation for 10,000 dollars, among 70 persons, of which they paid down 8,000 dollars in cash, and the remaining 2,000 dollars was to be paid within the month; the writer who states this fact adds—"What happiness could our colony disseminate through the human species, did but fresh importations of labour render the cultivation of the great staples compatible with the formation of black villages and towns." And in an address subsequently presented, by these purchasers of the estate, to the Governor of British Guiana, Henry Light, Esq,, signed by the names of all the parties, the three following paragraphs are worthy of special selection, as showing the kind of men from whom they emanated, and giving a complete answer to those who predicted nothing but idleness, disorder, and misery, as the result of their emancipation. This is their own record of the transaction—

"On the 7th day of this month, we jointly purchased, from the Executors of the late Hugh Rogers, Esq., for the sum of 10,000 dollars, his plantation called 'Northbroke,' containing about 500 acres of land; and as we have been enabled to pay the purchase money principally from out of our savings since we obtained our freedom, we cannot refrain from expressing how thankful, how grateful we are, how indebted we ever shall be, to all those noble-

minded individuals who were mainly instrumental in procuring and giving us that freedom.

"We further respectfully represent to your Excellency, that it is not our intention to settle down upon our plantation, and lead a life of idleness. Our views and wishes are to have the land divided into equal portions among us; individually to rent our cottages upon our respective plots of ground, and thereon, in our leisure hours, cultivate our vegetables and provisions; but our firm determination, as a body, is to continue to labour daily, as now, upon the several plantations where we are employed.

"We further respectfully represent to your Excellency, that it is our intention to establish upon our plantation, a school-house and church, (and there is a new large building on the estate, well adapted to these purposes): in the former, our children will be taught to read their bible, and learn their several duties to society at large; whilst in the latter, as each revolving Sabbath appears, we shall assemble together, and there offer up to the Almighty, our humble thanks for the great and wonderful benefits which, under Divine Providence, have been conferred upon us."

Such were the resolutions of the seventy emancipated negroes of British Guiana, whose names were appended to the original document, in the presence of Mr. C. H. Strutt, Stipendiary Magistrate, so recently as December last, 1839. If the abolition of slavery in the United States should place a large portion of the free coloured population in circumstances like these—and there seems no insuperable obstacle to such a result—the sooner it takes place the better. But, at all events, until this shall take place, the removal of such of the coloured people as are already free, from America to those of our colonies that are in want of labourers, like Guiana, would be the best preparation for the general freedom and elevation of their whole race.

During our stay in Baltimore, much was written in the public prints, and much said in private circles, on the subject of the importations from Cuba of bloodhounds by the Governor of Florida, under the sanction of the general government of the United States, to hunt out the Indians in the swamps and marshes of that peninsula. To the credit of the community here, the public feeling seemed to be strongly against such a mode of warfare; though even this was to a certain extent made a party question, with this variation—that while all the opponents of the present administration condemned the measure in the severest terms, the adherents of the administration were generally silent on the subject, or, if they spoke of it, gave it their disapproval in the gentlest terms. The following resolution, from the pen of the ex-President Adams, appeared in the Baltimore papers, of March, and embodies, perhaps, the nearest approach to the general sentiment of ridicule and indignation that has yet appeared on this subject—

"THE BLOODHOUNDS.—Among the resolutions offered in the House of Representatives on Monday last, we find the following from the Hon. John Quincy Adams. It was laid on the table under the rule.

"Resolved—That the Secretary of War be directed to report to this House the natural, political, and martial history of the bloodhound, showing the peculiar fitness of that class of warriors to be the associate of the gallant army of the United States—specifying the nice discrimination of his scent between the blood of the freeman and the blood of the slave—between the blood of the armed warrior, and that of women or children—between the blood of the black, white, and coloured man—between the blood of savage Seminoles, and that of the Anglo-Saxon pious Christian.

Also, a statement of the number of bloodhounds, and of their conductors, imported by this Government, or by the authorities of Florida, from the island of Cuba, and the cost of the importation. Also, whether a further importation of the same heroic race into the State of Maine, to await the contingency of a contested North-Eastern boundary question, is contemplated, or only to set an example to be followed by our possible adversary in the event of a conflict. Whether measures have been taken to secure exclusively to ourselves the employment of this auxiliary force, and whether he deems it expedient to extend to the said bloodhounds and their posterity the benefits of the Pension Laws."

Incendiarism seemed to be as frequent in Baltimore as in Philadelphia or New York; and was generally attributed to the same causes—increasing pecuniary embarrassment, and decreasing honesty and principle. Several fires occurred during our stay, and the greater number of them were pretty clearly ascertained to have been caused by design. The following is one only of the many instances recorded in the space of a few weeks in Baltimore; while the papers from the country furnished several proofs each day of the increased frequency of this crime in almost every State of the Union:—

"INCENDIARISM.—On Tuesday morning last, about 2 o'clock, watchman Stapleford discovered an old frame-dwelling in Frederick Street, two doors from Second, to be on fire. As the fire had but just begun to burn, it was easily extinguished; and on examination it was found that some one had ignited a number of lucifer matches, and thrust them between the weather-boarding, through a hole in the front of the house. From the combustible materials of which the house is built, a few moments more would have sufficed for the accomplishment of the incendiary's design."

The great topic of excitement during our stay in Baltimore, was, however, a public controversy be-

tween the Presbyterians and Roman Catholics, which had heretofore been carried on in the pulpit, in magazines, and in public meetings, but had now found a new arena in the Criminal Court of Law. The Rev. Robert Breckenridge, a clergyman of Kentucky, but long resident here, was the champion on the Presbyterian side; and his disposition and temperament fitted him for a controversialist of the most unbending, fiery, zealous, and ardent kind. To use the very expressive phrase, in almost every person's mouth here, "he had been constantly in in hot-water, and seemed to delight in it, as his most congenial element." On the 1st of every month, the reverend assailant came out with a heavy-battery against the "Papists," in the "Literary and Religious Magazine," of which he is the editor; and on each Sabbath evening in the month, he followed this up by "Special Lectures on Romanism, its errors, and abuses;" so that the attack was thus vigorously sustained by pen and tongue, without cessation. In the number of this Magazine for November last, was a paragraph stating certain allegations, which were deemed libellous on the keeper of the Alms House, James L. Macguire, who, though not expressly named in the paragraph, was sufficiently known to be the person alluded to, to make the application to him inevitable. The following was the paragraph in question—

"The County Alms House has been converted not only into a papal mass-house, but into a papal prison. An aged German Catholic in the western end of Baltimore, whose wife was in the alms-house, became uneasy about his soul, and asked for Protestant instruction. His priest heard of it, told him his wife was

dead, sent him to to the alms-house to see about her burial, and wrote a line to the *papal keeper*, lately put over the institution, that the man was mad, and must be confined! He was confined till it was by mere accident heard of by some Protestants, and the man rescued."

This paragraph was presented, as a libel, to the Grand Jury of the State of Maryland, who found a true bill against the Rev. Robert Breckenridge, as the writer and publisher of it; the State Attorney-General thereupon, in the name and on behalf of the State, filed an indictment against the "traverser," as the defendant is here called; and the cause came on for hearing during our stay in the city. Through the polite attention of the judges, I was permitted to take a seat near them on the bench, and had therefore the best opportunity of hearing and witnessing the whole of the proceedings, though the cause occupied the unreasonably long period of eight days, from ten o'clock each day, at which hour the Court opened, till three o'clock, when it closed. The judges were three in number, Judge Brice, Judge Nesbit, and Judge Worthington. The counsel for the State as prosecutor, were the attorney-general, Mr. George R. Richardson, and Mr. Charles H. Pitts; and for the defendant, William Schley, Esq., of Baltimore, and two of the United States' Senators, related to the Rev. Mr. Breckenridge, namely, the Hon. Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, and the Hon. Mr. Preston, of South Carolina, two of the ablest and most eloquent men in the present Congress, who had left their legislatorial duties at Washington, to come down and help their friend and relative in his hour of need.

The Courts of Justice in America are in general much larger and more commodious than in England; and besides possessing ample and comfortable accommodation for the officers and professional men, the space for the auditory or public is always much greater. The judges sit without wigs or robes; and the barristers, who are at the same time the attornies—these not being two separate professions as in England—are equally undistinguished by their dress from the general mass. At the same time, it must be admitted, that though this, to an English eye, may somewhat lessen the dignified appearance of the bench and bar, it in no degree lessens the respectful behaviour and orderly conduct of those who are in attendance. I have never seen, in any Court in England, more attention, or more decorum, than in the Courts of America generally; and in the present instance, though there could never have been less at any one time than 500 persons in the body of the Court, the greater number standing, no instance occurred during the whole of the eight days of the trial, of any manifestation of disrespect or disorder in any way whatever.

The pleadings were opened by Mr. Richardson, who stated the case on the side of the prosecution, and produced witnesses to prove the publication, the authorship, and the personal application of the libel, which he contended was both false and malicious. Mr. Schley made an able speech for the defence, and produced witnesses also to establish his case. The counsel contended, first, that the paragraph was not libellous on its face; secondly, that if libellous, it was not properly set forth, with the requisite

inuendos, in the indictment; and thirdly, that if both libellous and properly set forth, it was perfectly true, and therefore justifiable; the statute-law of Maryland, by an act passed in 1804, overruling the common-law of England, which, before that period shut out all proof of the truth of a libel as its justification, as is still the case in that country, in criminal indictments; while here, the truth of the libel may be pleaded, and is deemed sufficient justification, both in civil and criminal proceedings. Mr. Pitts replied to Mr. Schley, in a speech of less legal learning, and less ingenuity and acuteness, but with more of the pomp of manner, and display of oratorical attitude and gesture, which is generally agreeable to the American taste, and which would make Mr. Charles Phillips, of the English bar, more accountable to them than Sir James Scarlet or Sir Thomas Wylde. But the masterpiece of close argument, powerful declamation, and legal learning, united with impressive elocution, was the speech of the Attorney-General for the State, Mr. Richardson, in reply to Mr. Schley: as far as I can charge my recollection of all the speeches I have ever heard delivered at the English bar, I certainly do not remember one, that was superior to it; nor do I think there is any member of the legal profession in England, who could have made a more effective speech on the same subject, under the same circumstances. It was, indeed, the finest effort of oratory, in the highest sense of the term, that I had yet heard in the country, not even excepting the great speeches of Mr. Webster, Mr. Clay, and Mr. Calhoun, in the Senate, in 1838.

Mr. Crittenden, the distinguished member of Congress, who followed Mr. Richardson, felt his inferiority, as well as the difficulties of his case, and spoke in an extremely subdued and apologetic manner; but his previously high reputation caused his efforts to be thought more favourably of than they would have been, without so great a name. Mr. Preston did not speak at all.

For eight successive days, the Court was exclusively occupied with this case, from ten in the forenoon to three in the afternoon, two counsel only speaking on each side, and not more than a dozen witnesses being examined; but no kind of restraint was placed on any party by the judges, the counsel leaving off at three o'clock on one day to resume his speech on the next, and neither side complaining of the prolixity of the proceedings, so that the repetitions, as may be supposed, were considerable. The jury, too, was permitted to retire from day to day, and visit freely with whom they chose; and being chosen from the middle classes of the community, as they are in England, they seemed more and more puzzled, the longer the case lasted. They were indeed, very much in the condition of those Spartans, to whom some Athenian messengers delivered a very long oration, asking their alliance and assistance in a certain war; who replied to the Athenians with their accustomed brevity, that the speech was so long, that before they had heard the end of it, they had forgotten the beginning.

The judges, too, seemed to act as if they thought this were the case; for they gave no charge or summing up whatever; thinking, perhaps, that "a multi-

tude of words often darkens counsels:" so the jury retired to deliberate on their verdict; and being unable to agree, they remained shut up from four in the afternoon till ten the next morning. They then sent a message to the Court, saying there was no prospect of their agreeing, and begged to be forthwith discharged. This the judges peremptorily refused to do, adding, that it had become so common a case for juries to escape from giving verdicts in such cases, by asking to be discharged—from unwillingness, it was thought, to give offence to either party, by pronouncing any legal decision—that it was now high time to put a stop to it; they accordingly declared their resolution to keep the jury shut up until they did agree. The numbers were understood to be ten for acquittal, and two for conviction; but unanimity being demanded here, as in England, it was hoped, no doubt, that hunger and fatigue would make the two ultimately yield, not in their convictions, but in their profession of them, thus compelling men to violate their oaths, or die for want of sustenance; such is the absurdity of this provision of the English and American law. The day rolled on, however, and still there was no yielding on the part of the dissentients; till, at length, the judges themselves gave way, and actually consented to the jury being discharged.

This was a great disappointment to thousands, who were anxiously awaiting all round the Court House, and in groups about the city, for a verdict of conviction or acquittal; and tens of thousands in the country were as impatiently looking for the result. The question had been taken up as one of religious

party warfare. The Roman Catholics, who are more numerous, powerful, and wealthy in Baltimore than in any other city of the Union, and who are almost as extensive as the Protestants of all denominations, and greatly more so than any single Protestant sect, regarded this as an attack of Mr. Breckenridge on their religious integrity; and all the Catholics throughout the Union were more or less affected by it. The Presbyterians, on the other hand, the most wealthy and influential of the Protestants of Baltimore, and, next to the Methodists, the most numerous also, looked on Mr. Breckenridge as the great champion of their church; and all the Presbyterians of the Union felt an interest in the issue on this account. The first party were not content with the case going off without a decision, as they wanted a conviction; the second were as dissatisfied, because they did not obtain an acquittal; and thus all the expenditure of time, and agitation of the public mind occasioned by the trial, seemed to both parties as entirely thrown away. The Baltimore Sun reported an outline of the proceedings from day to day; and such was the demand for copies, at a cent or halfpenny each, to send by post to persons in the country, that upwards of 40,000 copies were sold daily. On the Sunday evening following the close of the trial, when Mr. Breckenridge gave his evening lecture on "Papism," entitled "Organized Persecution," the church was filled at four in the afternoon, though the service did not commence till half-past seven; and during the whole of the evening, a dense crowd of several hundreds, unable to obtain admission, were assembled round the doors and

windows. Not the least disorder was manifested in all this, by any party; though the Catholics pretended to be alarmed at the probable outbreak of the Presbyterians; and these again made no scruple of avowing their apprehension for the life of their leader, which they thought would be taken from him by the Catholics. Happily, however, all passed off with a war of words only; though it would have been for the interests of true religion, and the peace of the community, if this also could have been avoided.

Our attendance on worship was at the Episcopalian Church of St. Paul's, where we were struck, as I had been on a former visit to it, with the great attention paid to the decorative and ornamental parts of the building and service; as if striving to hold a middle course, between the pomp of the Catholic ritual, and the plainness of the Presbyterian and Methodist. Indeed, an English Episcopalian, introduced into this Church for the first time, without any previous information as to the class or sect to which it belonged, might well imagine himself to be in a Roman Catholic Cathedral. In the pulpit, the only instance that I ever remember of this kind, was a painting of the Saviour on the Cross. From the hollow concavity of the dome covering the pulpit, was seen the descent of the Holy Ghost in the figure of a headless dove, with the rays of glory represented by gilding; and on the top of the dome was an elevated cross. The stained-glass windows, and other auxiliary helps to produce effect, were but parts of a general design to impress the senses by visible objects, as well as the mind by invisible ones. But the most exuberant of all was the music. The organ was

tolerably good, and the organist sufficiently skilful; but his taste was so theatrical, that his voluntaries and symphonies were rather like overtures and interludes to a melo-dramatic entertainment, than the chastened expression of devotional feeling by grave and solemn sounds adapted to the occasion. And then his zeal so outran his discretion, that even in the beautiful chants of the Episcopal service, he was as florid in his roulades and cadenzas, as if he were accompanying a bravura of Rossini. It was a striking illustration of how the best things may be perverted by inappropriateness; and for myself, I could not but feel that the principal personage of the whole assembly was the organist, to whom the venerable preacher, Dr. Wyatt, and his son, who read the prayers, were, in fact, but subordinates; and that the main business of the day was to hear the exhibition of his powers in capriccios, rather than to exercise devotion or receive religious instruction.

The congregation was very large, at least a thousand, and most fashionably and expensively dressed; indeed, more suitably apparelled for a morning concert, than for public worship. The sermon was a fine composition, and beautifully read, with a full rich voice and great dignity of manner—unusual in American clergymen, who resemble in general the plainness of English Dissenters;—indeed, Dr. Wyatt might pass very well for a High-Church Oxford Divine, as orthodox, gentlemanly, and elegant as could be desired, yet the whole service appeared to pass off, as it usually does in fashionable churches in England, without for a moment disturbing the perfect self-satisfaction with which the elegantly-

dressed auditory bowed and smiled to each other in their mutual recognitions from the pews, and then floated down the aisles in all the sumptuousness and grace of persons too well-bred to suffer their pleasures to be disturbed for an instant by considerations of anything beyond the pleasures of the moment. Such are the fashionable Episcopal Churches and congregations in America generally; though it must be admitted, that it is to fashionable churches only that this practice will apply. But there are Evangelical Churches also among the Episcopalians, of which Dr. Johns's is one in Baltimore; and there are others in every large city, where devotion and religious instruction seem to form the main objects of attention, and to which all else is very properly made secondary and subordinate.

CHAP. V.

New penny paper in Baltimore, "The Log-Cabin Advocate"—Sudden admiration of poverty by the Whigs—Attempts to secure the suffrages of the humbler classes—Picture of General Harrison entertaining an old soldier—Admiration of the multitude for military prowess—Ludicrous example of this in an Irish schoolmaster—Denunciation of the government—Picture of the present state of the country, by an elector—Evils produced by these exaggerations—New public buildings recently erected in Baltimore—Record office—Improved taste in architecture—Public Cemetery at Green Mount, near the city—Excellent feature in the plan of this establishment—Devotion of profits to Temperance, Education, and Charity—Public dedication of the Cemetery on opening it—Prayer, hymn, and address, on the occasion—Reasons for associating rural beauty with the grave—Utility of monuments to the worthy—Character of Baltimore society.

During our stay in Baltimore, a new Whig paper was issued, to advocate the claims of General Harrison to the Presidency; and as its title and contents are strikingly characteristic of American taste, a few extracts from it will exhibit these better than any description. The paper was of the class called here "Penny Papers," though selling for one cent per copy, equal to an English halfpenny, with large reductions to those who took considerable numbers for gratuitous distribution; and it was the intention of the proprie-

tors to issue it until the close of the next Presidential election. The following is its opening article—

"The first number of the 'Log Cabin Advocate' is this day presented to the public. Let no man feel his sensibilities shocked at the title. Log Cabins were the dwelling-places of the founders of our Republic. It was a Log Cabin that received and sheltered the daring pioneers of liberty, who exchanged the dangers of the half-sinking Mayflower for the perils of a residence in an inhospitable clime, to whose rigours no invention of civilization had then afforded any alleviation. It was in view of the Rock of Plymouth that the Puritans of New England first erected the Log Cabins, which sheltered the fathers and mothers of the race who now overspread a continent. It was in a Log Cabin that the settlers of St. Mary's and of James River first found refuge and protection. It was in Log Cabins that the pioneers of the mighty West, the Boones—the Worthingtons—the McArthurs—the Shelbys—of the vast region that stretches from the Apalachian chain to and beyond the shores of the Mississippi, reared the race of statesmen and heroes who have since civilized and defended it. It was in a Log Cabin that the illustrious HARRISON, the Governor of a Territory equal almost in extent to the dominions of the Russian Autocrat, learned the lessons of wisdom, moderation, and courage, which have placed him in the foremost rank of the greatest men of the nation, and are destined to invest him with the highest honours of the Republic. Log Cabins were the early homes of all the first settlers of every State of the Union. Log Cabins were the garrisons of the frontiers, when every acre was won from the wilderness and the savage, by the sacrifice of a human life. Honoured, then, through all time, be these memorials of the trials—the sufferings—the triumphs of our forefathers. Thrice honoured be he whom the splendour of palaces—the seductions of official station—the blaze of military and civic renown—could never allure from his attachment to the republican simplicity which he learned beneath the unhewn rafters of his Log Cabin."

The Whigs, it should be always remembered, comprehend nearly all the wealthy classes in the

Union, but especially in the great cities, excepting of course the slave-owners and planters of the South, and the office-holders in all the States; as these regard their interests safer in the keeping of Mr. Van Buren than in that of any one who might succeed him. The Whigs, in America, are formed of nearly the same classes, and hold nearly the same doctrines, as the Conservatives, or Tories, in England. They advocate a return to "the good old times;" they dislike innovations; they are dreadfully afraid of increasing the power of the Democracy; they would, if they could, most willingly abridge and restrict the right of suffrage; and are for giving to property that increased weight in the scale which they call its "legitimate influence." But as the suffrage *is* universal, and they cannot now make it otherwise, no election can be carried without the aid of that class who compose the numerical majority, and these are the small shopkeepers, small farmers, working artisans and mechanics, and the labouring classes generally. It is found indispensable, therefore, to cultivate their good-will, and obtain their support; and for this purpose every practicable device is used. The name of the party is attempted to be made palatable to this class, by calling it by the strangely-mongrel title of "Democratic Republican Whigs," though the Whig and Democrat are the antipodes of each other, and both profess to be equally Republican. In the same spirit of a desire to conciliate the labouring classes, they affect to be wonderfully smitten with the virtue of poverty, in which they resemble the Tories at home, when they form "Conservative Operative Associations;" min-

gle with the "unwashed," as they once called them in derision, at public dinners; and call themselves the "Poor Man's Friends." Thus it is, that in this new paper, "The Log Cabin Advocate," though General Harrison is extolled for many things, yet his living in a log-cabin, and drinking only hard cider, is most dwelt upon. He has undoubtedly much higher claims than these; and if the object had been to obtain for him the suffrages of the wealthy and intelligent, these claims would have been put forth more prominently than they are. But *their* suffrages he is already sure of; and it is those of the less wealthy and less intelligent that his party wish to add to their strength. To flatter them, therefore, his poverty, and his hospitality to persons of their condition, is much more strenuously insisted on; and it is made the subject of pictorial representation, that it may become more tangible, and impress itself more deeply on the memory. The following paragraphs are of this description, and occupy a prominent place in the columns of "The Log-Cabin Advocate:"—

"Gen. Harrison, when parting from a regiment of his soldiers, just after the Indian war, said to them—'Gentlemen, if you ever come to Vincennes, you will always find a plate and a knife and fork at my table, and I assure you that you will never find *my door shut and the string of the latch pulled in.*'

"He then introduced the old Soldier into his Cabin, where he had some friends at dinner, saying—'Here is one of my old comrades, who has done battle for his country, and he will take a seat with us at table.'—The Soldier, thus introduced, was received with open arms and joyful hearts by the company."

It was necessary, of course, to make Mr. Van Buren's portrait the opposite of all this; although

the great complaint of the Whigs against Mr. Van Buren always has been that he has pandered too much to the multitude, and has been too democratic in all his views and measures, as well, indeed, as in his manners; because, in his progress, or tour, during the last autumn, his courting the smiles and cheers of the populace, was imputed to him as a fault. In the face of this, the same Whig paper, "The Log-Cabin Advocate," contains the following assertion of his hauteur and aristocracy—

"The Baltimore Republican intimates that those who pass General Harrison's cabin obtain only hard cider from the barrel at the outside. Not so—the General stands ready, not only to invite the 'honest and true' to partake within, but even the Locos when they give him a call, are received with kindness and attention. This is more than they can get of Mr. Van Buren, who has nothing in his palace but champagne, old hock, Madeira, Sherry, and 'prime Havannas;' and these choice things are only dealt out to his 'silk-stocking and ruffle-shirt friends.'

Yet the yearly income of the President, to cover every expense of his office, public entertainments, and all included, is only 25,000 dollars, or 5,000*l.* sterling, a year; while in England, the widow of a former Sovereign, who has little or no state to maintain, has 100,000*l.* a year, or twenty times as much as the President of the United States!

But, as the lower classes of all countries have great admiration for military heroes, and think that to win the battle of Waterloo, or the battle of New Orleans, gives a man a better claim to honours and rewards than the highest piece of statesmanship, or the greatest work of benevolence, it is found necessary to dazzle the populace of America by placing before them General Harrison as a "Conqueror."

In the same sheet, therefore, which represents him at his log cabin, there is another portrait of the General, in full military uniform, about to mount his war-charger; and the battles of the Thames and Tippecanoe are dwelt on at great length. Some of the communications on this subject are sufficiently ludicrous; one example of this will suffice, it is as follows—

"Twenty-six years ago last autumn (said a gentleman the other day), I was a boy attending school in a log cabin, with no other windows than the light afforded through the space between two logs, by the removal of a piece of the third, with greasy bits of paper pasted on as substitutes for glass. This cabin, dedicated to learning, was situated on the outskirts of a now populous town in Pennsylvania. While I was sitting (said our informant) at the *long low window* of our old school-house, and our IRISH schoolmaster was busy in repeating our A, B, C, to the smaller urchins, I suddenly heard the sound of a horn; I looked forth, and saw descending the hill, half a mile distant, the mail-boy on his horse at full speed; at the foot of the hill he crossed the bridge, and the rapid clatter of the iron hoof resounded throughout our cabin; rising the hill near us, his horse at full speed and reeking with sweat, he again sounded his shrill horn, and when opposite our log academy, he called out, 'HARRISON HAS WHIPPED THE BRITISH AND THE INDIANS!' Our Irish tutor, with as true an *American* heart as ever beat in a son of Erin, sprang from his seat as though he had been shot, his eyes flashing fire, screamed out, 'BOYS! DO YOU HEAR THAT!!!' caught his hat, darted out at the door, and followed the mail-boy at the top of his speed; the scholars were not a second behind him, the larger ones taking the lead, and shouting 'Huzza for Harrison!' and the smaller ones running after, hallooing and screaming with fright."

If at any time an Englishman should venture to express an opinion of the state of the country, and describe it as anything short of the greatest and

most flourishing nation in the world, he would most certainly be taken to task for his presumption in speaking of what it would be thought impossible for him, as a foreigner, to understand; though the real offence would be his venturing to say anything disparaging of the country, as compared with any of the older nations of Europe. Yet, when a party-purpose is to be served, by describing the country as in a wretched condition, no painter can delineate it in such glowing colours as a native American artist. Take the following commencement of one of the leading articles of "The Log-Cabin Advocate"—

"In surveying the avowed policy and practice of the present administration, how is the philosopher startled at the result, as he stands amid the wreck of the Republic and the ruin of the country around him! But yesterday, and the philanthropist gazed with pride upon a glorious land, where enterprise, industry, and ingenuity were crowned with success. To-day he looks, and every trace of her grandeur and glory hath passed away, like the crumbling castle of the imagination. The flourishing Republic lies in ruins. Her brilliant prospects are blasted, her business annihilated, her currency ruined, and her credit crushed. Do not suppose that this is the picture of a poet's fancy, or that I am amusing you with the illusive landscape of a dream. No, no, it is sad reality. It is the fatal result of the tyranny of the two Tarquins. It is the fatal effect of the destructive doctrines of the Van Buren dynasty. It is the offspring of a policy worse than was ever promulgated by the House of Bourbon, of Brunswick, or Braganza."

For the election of President, each State chooses as many Presidential Electors as she is entitled to send members to the House of Representatives in the General Congress, both being in the same ratio of numbers to population. Maryland, therefore,

sending eight members to Congress, has to choose eight Presidential Electors, and the Whigs have nominated their candidates for this trust already. When the time for the election arrives, the ordinary electors of the State, including every white male citizen of full age, will vote in the choice of Presidential Electors; and these Presidential Electors, when all chosen, will vote by States for the President. One of the candidates nominated by the Whigs of Maryland for this trust, is a gentleman of the bar at Baltimore, Mr. David Hoffman, learned in his profession, and highly respected for his general character; and the language he uses in his reply to the nomination which he accepts, is even stronger than that of the preceding extract. His whole letter, as well as that of his colleague, is contained in the same little penny paper, "The Log-Cabin Advocate," which is so profusely filled with denunciations of "the powers that be," as to make it certain that its writers do not think with the apostle Paul, that these "powers" are "ordained of God." The following is his language—

"That the people may be *theoretically* sovereign, and yet *practically* slaves, is a truth that would not have been easily believed, had not the two last administrations established it beyond a doubt! A government, despotic in theory, but paternal in practice, is not a greater anomaly; both, indeed, are very rare, but the former baffles all comprehension, since nothing can be more wonderful than to see a people, endowed with all the means of self-preservation, confidently entrusting to a few the most gigantic powers; and then calmly submitting to privations, and to ruin, which, if perpetrated by an *avowed tyranny*, could not fail to end in a total *bouleversement*, and even the condign punishment of their oppressors! How wonderful, then, is the

influence of a *mere name;* how much may a nation be made to suffer by the artful expedients of a comparative few, whose unholy vocation is to deceive the people, withhold the truth, pervert the clearest things, deal largely in faithless promises, corrupt by the most potent bribery, vilify by a systematic mendacity, excite men's passions into fury by the most wicked misrepresentations, and wield the complicated machinery of government with as much recklessness as if all the losses were their individual gains, and all out of their party, and all posterity, too, were nonentities, in no wise to be consulted!

"We are said to be the freest people on earth! and yet our government cannot be sued, (as most foreign governments may,) but we must petition, cap in hand, for possibly a series of years, till hope becomes lost in delay, and in vexatious expense, and until the sod of the valley reposes upon our bosom, leaving to our heirs the onerous duty of prosecuting what our fathers have failed to attain, but the justice of which is evidenced by a thousand proofs, which heartless legislators have but little valued.

"We are said to be the freest people on earth! and yet, honest and unmixed truth is scarce anywhere to be found; and, among the Locofocos especially, most sedulously, artfully, and methodically rejected; and a system is raised in its stead, of prodigious, pervading, and minute mendacity!

"What has produced these sad results? Not republicanism—not genuine democracy; but that hybridous monster, which of late has been generated—a monster that retains the *name* of democracy, but which is no more like its parent than is 'Hyperion to a Satyr.'"

All the present embarrassments of the country, are clearly traceable to the simple cause of every single State having borrowed money to carry on public works beyond its present power to pay; and entered on undertakings, now half complete, while their credit failing in the middle of their labours, all that has been spent is sunk, and more cannot be got to finish them sufficiently to produce any profit. Yet, in the face of this, the inability of banks to pay their

engagements, so clearly traceable to their issues being all in excess above their means; all the fall of prices in goods and stocks, arising from their supply exceeding the demand; all the private debt and insolvency, occasioned by men having lived above their means, and spent their supposed incomes before they were realized;—all these are charged to the *misrule* of the existing administration; and Mr. Hoffman endeavours to persuade his countrymen to believe, that all this will be *changed* by the election of the Log-Cabin Candidate, General Harrison:* he says—

"Should the ensuing election effect a change in our national councils, (of which I entertain no shadow of doubt) we may all, once more, sit under our own vine and fig-tree; the *New School* will vanish, and the *Old School* of the golden times of our young history will come back with "healing upon its wings." But, if, from any unforeseen cause—which may Heaven avert!—the present incumbent should be again elected, I should lament for the people, as one without hope—generations yet unborn would feel the calamity, for we are now on a tremendous precipice! Before us is a wide gulph, behind we have left a rich and verdant valley—a Canaan of the richest promise! Let us not, then, cast ourselves into the pit beneath us, but retrace our footsteps, and establish our abodes, for ever, in that goodly land. We are now on Pisgah's heights—the Jordan is near us—the land of promise is in full view—let us avoid the gulph; and adhering to the God of our forefathers, let us forsake Dagon and Moloch, and all the false gods of heathenish and false democracy, and cleave to the true democracy of our progenitors—all will then be 'paths of peace.'"

* Since this was written, General Harrison has been elected, and the Whigs have held the administration: yet their pecuniary embarrassments are greater now than ever. In truth, they have no connection with either Whig or Democratic policy; but spring from all classes having lived too extravagantly, and spent more than they possessed. But as in England, the Tories attribute

The use of many of the prominent terms and allusions in this paragraph, was no doubt to please the ears of a certain class, who are more than usually numerous at the present time—the religious revivalists—there having been as much excitement raised here by the protracted meetings of the Rev. Mr. Knapp, as there was in Philadelphia by the meetings of the Rev. Mr. Kirk; and to these, the allusions to the "New School" and the "Old School," to "Canaan, and Pisgah, and the Jordan," as well as to "Dagon and Moloch," and the expression of golden times returning "with healing on its wings," and the paths of true democracy being "paths of peace," would be highly acceptable, as giving a religious air to the whole composition; though not one in ten of all who should admire this turn given to the subject, would, if seriously questioned, be found to believe that the state of the country was half as bad as Mr. Hoffman has painted it; or that the election of General Harrison would produce half the good which is predicted of it. Every one is ready to make large abatements from such exaggerated views, in their own secret judgment, and yet every one demands that they shall be put forth to serve their party, till falsehood becomes so general, that all confidence in party men and party statements is destroyed throughout the country.

Among the public works executed since we were last in Baltimore, were two of great beauty, and from

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our national distresses to the ruinous policy of the Whigs, and the Whigs retort the same reproach on the Tories;—so in America, every one is ready to transfer the blame to any shoulders but his own.

the designs of the same tasteful architect, Mr. Long. The first was the Record Office, a fine substantial granite edifice, severe and massive in its proportions, and well adapted to its purpose, for the preservation of all the public records deposited in it. It is constructed wholly of stone, externally and internally; having nothing in all its materials in the slightest degree combustible, and is therefore completely fire-proof. This is nearly in the centre of the city, not far from the Court House and the Law Buildings. The other work was the entrance-gate and lodges to the new burial-place, called Green Mount Cemetery, which was purchased and enclosed when we were last in Baltimore, but was only opened a few months since.

There is something in the organization of the plan in which this Cemetery has been brought forward and completed, so praiseworthy in itself, and so deserving of imitation by others, that it ought to be made generally known. The spot, embracing about 60 acres, was the site of a fine old mansion and beautiful park-grounds, belonging to a wealthy citizen of Baltimore, named Robert Oliver; who had, during his life-time, expended considerable sums in improving and adorning the grounds; so that at his death, it was left by him in a high state of picturesque beauty. An association of gentlemen purchased the estate of his heirs for 65,000 dollars, and determined to devote it to a Public Cemetery, after the example of Mount Auburn at Boston, and Laurel Hill at Philadelphia; these being after the earlier example of Pere la Chaise in Paris. This association, in a highly benevolent and disinterested spirit, have determined to relinquish all considera-

tions of profit for themselves, and to prevent all profit accruing to others from the grounds; the act of their incorporation, therefore, stipulates that when the sales of the lots to families and individuals shall have reimbursed the principal and interest of the first cost and subsequent outlay in building and in improving the grounds, and created a fund of 40,000 dollars, from the interest of which, the whole establishment is to be preserved in perfect order; all profits beyond this shall be divided among the four Public Societies of Baltimore which are organized for promoting and sustaining the following excellent objects:—1. The cause of Temperance. 2. The support of Sunday Schools. 3. The formation of a Sailors' Home. And 4. The providing books for an Apprentices' Library.

The dedication of this Cemetery to the purposes for which it was designed, was attended with a public ceremonial of great interest and solemnity, which took place on the evening of Saturday, the 13th of July last, on the public grounds in the open air, beneath a grove of forest trees. The ceremony was opened by the choral services of the Musical Association of Baltimore, who sang a beautiful and appropriate introduction, from the Oratorio of St. Paul. This was followed by a most impressive prayer from the Rev. Dr. Wyatt, the rector of St. Paul's Church in Baltimore, of which the two following passages will serve as specimens, not merely of the eloquent style and chaste composition, but of the singularly wise and proper application of the reflections uttered, to the temper and tendency of the

existing state of feeling and disposition among the community by whom he was surrounded:—

"All-wise God!—in this vestibule of the unseen world, where, through the clustering oaks, the perpetual dirge of winds seems the response of awful rites within—inspire us with lessons of heavenly-mindedness and devotion. From yonder stately mansion,* where once was heard the viol and the harp, but henceforth the sanctuary of offices for the dead, let us learn the instability of earthly things. From the slow funeral-pageant, which entering with touching ritual, within these walls, in the proud mausoleum shall deposit the remains of the possessor of rank and wealth, may we all be taught the folly of pride. And when the learned and the mighty shall here say 'to corruption, thou art my father, and to the worm, thou art my mother and sister,' may the friendless and the poor be inspired with contentment under the brief humiliations of their lot; and may they lay it to heart, that every path of life, however illustrious or obscure, ends alike but in a silent, narrow cell.

"Here, in this quiet retreat from the turmoil of the world, teach us, O our Father, the fruitlessness of discord, and the littleness of ambition. Looking into the noiseless chambers of the tomb, where once angry partisans lie down together without strife, and rival heroes find a calm resting-place by each other's side, may our hearts be touched with the vanity of the feuds which disturb the peace of the world! Seeing here the end of glory, and the emptiness of triumphs, may we shun the vain conflicts of life, and seek supremely those things which are spiritual and eternal!"

The following hymn, from the pen of J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq., a distinguished barrister of Baltimore, son of the celebrated architect who planned the Capitol at Washington, and built the Catholic

"* The seat of the late Robert Oliver, Esq., to be converted into a chapel for the cemetery."

Cathedral here, and brother to the principal engineer of the State, was next sung :—

We meet not now where pillar'd aisles,
In long and dim perspective fade;
No dome, by human hands uprear'd,
Gives to this spot its solemn shade.
Our temple is the woody vale,
Its shrines these grateful hearts of ours;
Our incense is the balmy gale,
Whose perfume is the gift of flowers.

Yet here, where now the living meet,
The shrouded dead ere long will rest,
And grass now trod beneath our feet,
Will mournful wave above our breast.
Here birds will sing their notes of praise,
When summer hours are bright and warm;
And winter's sweeping winds will raise,
The sounding anthems of the storm.

Then now, while life's warm currents flow,
While restless throbs the anxious heart,
Teach us, O Lord! thy power to know,
Thy grace, O Lord, our God! impart:
That when, beneath this verdant soil,
Our dust to kindred dust is given;
Our souls, released from mortal coil,
May find, with Thee, their rest in heaven.

To this succeeded the address, which was delivered by the Hon. J. P. Kennedy, the member of Congress from Baltimore, of which a few passages may be given, because of their universal application and suitability to English as well as to American minds and hearts; as well as for the faithful pictures they present of the state and condition of the public burial-grounds of this country, and general neglect

of these resting-places of the dead, by the busy and indifferent living, which the establishment of these Cemeteries is intended to amend and correct. The orator said, after the first opening-sentences of his discourse—

"I think it may be set down somewhat to the reproach of our country, that we too much neglect this care of the dead. It betokens an amiable, venerating, and religious people, to see the tombs of their forefathers not only carefully preserved, but embellished with those natural accessories which display a thoughtful and appropriate reverence. The pomp of an overlaboured and costly tomb scarcely may escape the criticism of a just taste; that tax which ostentation is wont to pay to the living in the luxury of sculptured marble dedicated to the dead, often attracts disgust by its extravagant disproportion to the merits of its object; but a becoming respect for those from whom we have sprung, an affectionate tribute to our departed friends, and the friends of our ancestors, manifested in the security with which we guard their remains, and in the neatness with which we adorn the spot where they are deposited, is no less honourable to the survivors, than it is respectful to the dead. 'Our fathers,' says an eloquent old writer, 'find their graves in our short memories, and sadly tell us how we may be buried in our survivors.' It is a good help to these 'short memories,' and a more than pardonable vanity, to keep recollection alive by monuments that may attract the eye and arrest the step, long after the bones beneath them shall have become part of the common mould.

"I think we too much neglect this care of the dead. No one can travel through our land without being impressed with a disagreeable sense of our indifference to the adornment, and even to the safety, of the burial-places. How often have I stopped to note the village grave-yard, occupying a cheerless spot by the road-side! Its ragged fence furnishing a scant and ineffectual barrier against the invasion of trespassing cattle, or beasts still more destructive; its area deformed with rank weeds,—the jamestown, the dock, and the mullen; and for shade, no better furniture than some dwarfish, scrubby, incongruous tree, meagre

of leaves, gnarled and ungraceful, rising solitary above the coarse, unshorn grass. And there were the graves—an unsightly array of naked mounds; some with no more durable memorial to tell who dwelt beneath, than a decayed, illegible tablet of wood, or if better than this, the best of them with coverings of crumbling brick masonry, and dislocated slabs of marble, forming, perchance, family groups, environed by a neglected paling of dingy black, too plainly showing how entirely the occupants had gone from the thoughts of their survivors. Not a pathway was there to indicate that here had ever come the mourner to look upon the grave of a friend, or that this was the haunt of a solitary footstep bent hither for profitable meditation. I felt myself truly amongst the *deserted* mansions of the dead, and have turned from the spot to seek again the haunts of the living, out of the very chill of the heart which such a dilapidated scene had cast upon me. Many such places of interment may be found in the country.

"It is scarce better in the cities. There is more expense, it is true, and more care—for the tribute paid to mortality in the crowded city renders the habitations of its dead a more frequent resort. But in what concerns the garniture of these cemeteries, in all relates to the embellishment appropriate to their character and their purpose, how much is wanting! Examine around our own city. You shall find more than one grave-yard enclosed with but the common post-and-rail fence, and occupying the most barren spot of ground, in a suburb near to where the general offal of the town is strewed upon the plain, and taints the air with its offensive exhalations. You shall observe it studded with tombs of sufficiently neat structure, but unsoftened by the shade of a single shrub—or, if not entirely bare, still so naked of the simple ornament of tree and flower, as to afford no attraction to the eye, no solicitation to the footstep of the visitor. That old and touching appeal, 'siste viator,' is made to the wayfarer from its desolate marbles in vain; there is nothing to stop the traveller and wring a sigh from his bosom, unless it be to find mortality so cheaply dealt with in these uncheery solitudes. We have Cemeteries better than these, where great expense has been incurred to give them greater security and more elaborate ornament; but these

too—even the best of them—are sadly repulsive to the feelings from the air of overcrowded habitation, and too lavish expenditure of marble and granite within their narrow limits. This press for space—the result of an under estimate, in the infancy of the city, of what time might require—has compelled the exclusion of that rural adornment so appropriate to the dwellings of the dead—so appropriate, because so pure and natural—the deep shade, the verdant turf, the flower-enamelled bank, with their concomitants, the hum of bees, and carol of summer birds. I like not these lanes of ponderous granite pyramids, these gloomy, unwindowed blocks of black and white marble, these prison-shaped walls, and that harsh gate of rusty iron, slow moving on its grating hinges! I cannot affect this sterile and sunny solitude. Give me back the space, the quiet, the simple beauty and natural repose of the country!

"To such a spot as this have we come to make provision for our long rest; and hither, even as drop follows drop in the rain, shall the future generations that may people our city, find their way, and sleep at our sides. It may be a vain fancy, yet still it is not unpleasing, that in that long future our present fellowships may be preserved, and that the friends and kindred who now cherish their living association shall not be far separated in the tomb. Here is space for every denomination of religious society, leaving room for each to preserve its appropriate ceremonies; and here too may the city set apart a quarter for public use. That excellent custom, the more excellent because it is so distinctively classical in its origin, of voting a public tomb to eminent citizens, a custom yet unknown to us, I trust will, in the establishment of this Cemetery, find an argument for its adoption; that here may be recorded the public gratitude to a public benefactor, and in some conspicuous division of these grounds, the stranger may read the history of the statesman, the divine, the philanthropist, the soldier, or the scholar, whose deeds have improved or whose fame adorned the city. In such monuments virtue finds a cheering friend, youth a noble incentive, and the heart of every man a grateful topic of remembrance."

I know not how it may appear to others, but to

me, it seems that there is as much of truth, of beauty, and of appropriateness, in the passages here laid before the reader, as in any composition that I have ever read on the same interesting and touching subject, and more than enough to justify the length of the quotations made. I cannot but hope that their extensive dissemination among English readers, will have the effect of calling their attention to the propriety and advantages of public Cemeteries, and lead to the universal adoption of them in England, where every reason that can be urged in their favour, applies with as much force as in any country on the earth. I have dwelt on this favourable specimen of pure taste and elevated feeling, too, the longer, because of the pleasure it afforded to my own mind and heart, to indulge the enjoyment of thoughts and associations of so purifying and ennobling a character as these. English readers—who may see, in other portions of this work, the record of so much that is calculated to excite sorrow and regret, in the perversion of good taste and prostitution of right feeling on many topics in America—may be disposed to linger here, on this green spot, with the same kind of pleasure that the weary traveller, after crossing the arid and barren waste of the Libyan Desert, descries the cool retreat of some verdant oasis, where he may enjoy refreshment and repose.—It is only, indeed, by recording the good as well as the evil, and the evil as well as the good, that a just estimate of any country or people can be formed; though it is unfortunately too much the custom to paint other nations as all deformity or all excellence, according to the preconceived views

of the writers, and then to record only the facts which sustain and confirm these views exclusively.

During this our third visit to Baltimore, our former friendships were rekindled, and new ones formed; so that when the day of our departure at length arrived, and it was not probable that we should ever visit the city again, a degree of sorrowful interest was manifested in many circles, more like that engendered by the loss of nearest relatives in blood, than the separation of mere friends or acquaintances. We had always thought and felt that the society of Baltimore was the most warm-hearted, generous, and hospitable, that we had met with in any of the large cities—though in New York and Philadelphia we had many cordial friends—and this our last visit only served to confirm us in this opinion. Their central position seems favourable for uniting the intelligence of the North with the frankness and generosity of the South; while they appear to avoid the mercenary spirit of the one, and the reckless daring of the other. Like the Virginians, whom they much resemble, there is a manly openness of approach, a graceful dignity of demeanour, and a freedom from all suspicion or reserve, which is peculiarly delightful among the men; and a winning grace, a softened elegance, and a chastened familiarity and confidence, which is as charming in the women. These are not so learned and scientific as the ladies of Boston; but they are more affable and more engaging. They are not so ostentatious of display as the ladies of New York; but their social qualities, their desire to gratify, and their power of pleasing, is much

greater. Indeed, nothing can be more strikingly in contrast, than the crowded and noisy soirée, or ball and supper, of the "Empire State" (as New York is called), and the quiet domestic musical evenings, with earnest and animated conversations, of the small social parties, in the "Monumental City of Baltimore." We quitted it, therefore, with deeper and more sincere regret than we had ever felt before on leaving any city in America; though there are very few places, out of all the large number in which we made any stay, where we had not left behind us individuals and families, whom we admired and respected, and whom it would afford us the greatest pleasure to meet again.*

* For the more equal division of the Engravings through the three volumes of this series, the View of Baltimore will form the Frontispiece to Vol. III.

CHAP. VI.

Journey by railroad to Fredericktown—Singular character—Female vender of political pamphlets—Negro prison, and residence of a slave dealer—Scenery of the road—Ellicott's mills on the Patapsco—Description of the town of Frederick—Excursion to Harper's Ferry—Position of the town—Views of approach—Ascent of the hill—Jefferson's Rock and burying-ground—Description of the views from these two points—Passage from Mr. Jefferson's Notes on Virginia—Lines of railroad proceeding from hence—Competition of the Atlantic cities for the western trade—Armoury and works on the banks of the Potomac—Arsenal—Manufacture of arms—Return to Fredericktown—Improved views—Vein of agglomerate—Potomac marble—Fertile lands of the Carrollton Manor—Anecdote of the patriot—Carroll of Carrollton—Last survivor of all the Signers of the Declaration of Independence.

On Monday, the 23d of March, we left Baltimore for the West, taking the railroad cars, at 4 o'clock, for Frederick, a distance of 62 miles. We were detained a short time at the depôt, where an incident occurred so unlike anything we had yet met with in the country, that it attracted our attention from its novelty. One very remarkable feature of the national manners is this—that females are far less prominent than in other Christian countries, in what may be called public occupations. Except among the very lowest classes, neither the wives nor daughters do anything even to assist their husbands and fathers in their business, but each are maintained

without labour, and the chief business of their lives is to dress well, and enjoy themselves. In politics they take no part whatever; and in all our intercourse with society, I do not remember a single instance of any lady expressing an opinion on any political subject, however deeply their husbands or brothers might be engaged in party-warfare. But we now met with an exception to this: for while the cars were waiting at the depôt, a well-dressed female, with gay bonnet, veil, and shawl, entered with a small basket, covered up so as to conceal its contents; and from it she took copies of a political pamphlet, which she handed round to the passengers for sale, saying, "It is a good Harrison Paper, and yet not against General Jackson either; for though I respect General Harrison, I avow that General Jackson is the god of my idolatry."

My first impression was that the woman was insane, but this was corrected by several gentlemen who knew her well, as a person obtaining her living by this mode of writing and vending political pamphlets in person. I asked if she were a foreigner. "Oh! no," it was replied, "a native American, and the only one so engaged—so that she has all the trade to herself." She was most voluble of discourse, and sufficiently communicative to all parties, but without saying anything offensive to any. This was the title of her pamphlet, "A History of the present Cabinet—Benton in ambush for the next Presidency—Kendal coming in third best—Gather all your strength, and out with the Cossacks—Draw their teeth in time, unless they should devour you.—An Exposition of Martin Van Buren's Reign." At the close of the

pamphlet were some verses, not of the highest order, of which two of the stanzas will suffice—

"Unfurl the broad banner once more,
And rally around it in your might,
The Destructives with sadness the hour shall deplore,
When Harrison and Tyler lead on the fight.

Our cause is a just one, our leaders are true,
The Locos already begin to despair,
They know that if led by old Tippecanoe,
The hero, the statesman, we've nothing to fear."

This was not an anonymous pamphlet, but signed at the close, "Lucy Kenney." I asked her if she were the author of the compositions, prose and verse; to which she replied "Yes, that is my real name; and there is but one man in the world for whom I would change it." I said he must consider himself greatly distinguished. "Indeed," she returned, "you are right, he *is* distinguished, for General Jackson is the man. I tried the old hero hard," she continued, "but he declared that he was too old; though I told him I did not think so, but if he would not marry me, I should live and die with the name of Lucy Kenney." The old General must be nearly 80. The lady who in vain strove to win him, could not be more than 30; and though her conversation was thus eccentric, her general demeanour was respectful and orderly. She was under no influence from wine or other stimulants; and those who said they knew her well, declared her to be of perfectly sane mind and irreproachable morals, though "a great oddity," and "unlike the rest of her sex."

We left Baltimore at four, and one of the last objects we passed in the outskirts of the city to the

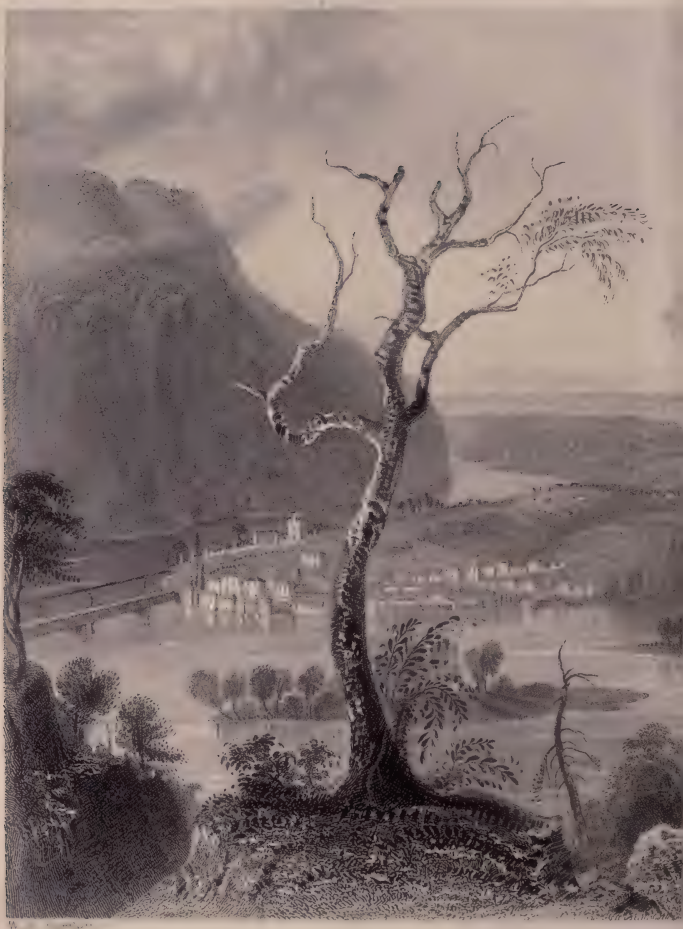
west, was pointed out to me by a Quaker passenger, (whose acquaintance I had made by his being one of the auditors of my Lectures, and who was therefore bold enough to talk to me on such a subject) as a negro prison, or magazine or mart of an extensive dealer in slaves; where they were herded together in strongly-barred rooms, while they were waiting for purchasers, who came here to select such as they needed, and carried them off to the South. This gentleman, though an American by birth, felt and expressed himself strongly on this subject, and considered the continued existence of Slavery as the greatest blot on the reputation of the United States, and the greatest curse to both master and slave; but, like almost all persons living in the South, and wishing to see an end put to Slavery, he thought the prospect of Emancipation farther removed now than it was some years since. He still hoped, however, that the example of the British in the West India Islands might turn out favourably for all parties; for if this should happen, he thought it would do more than any other thing to induce the planters of America to think of some speedy mode of giving freedom to their slaves, and paying wages for their labour, as best for their own interests, as well as those of the labourers themselves.

In our way along the banks of the Patapsco river, and within a few miles of Baltimore, we passed some new cotton-factories, built of stone, and worked by water-power, in which several hundreds of white labourers were said to be employed, at an average rate of a dollar per day, and yielding good profit to the proprietors. At Ellicott's Mills, a

romantic village, were several large water-mills for grinding and packing flour for exportation. The stream, which is here small and shallow, but very rapid, gives its name, Patapsco, to a thriving little village standing on its banks. The road, indeed, from leaving Baltimore at four, till it became dark at seven, was picturesque and interesting to a degree much beyond that of railroads generally, from its passing so much along the valley of the Patapsco, and having hills, rocks, woods, viaducts, bridges, running-water, and villages, pleasantly succeeding each other in the prospect. It was nearly ten when we reached Frederick, one of the inland towns of Maryland, at which the railroad terminates, and where stage-coaches are taken for the rest of the journey to the West, and here we halted for the night, the distance from Baltimore being 62 miles, the time occupied, 6 hours, and the fare 3 dollars each.

The next day we had torrents of rain, with the wind at south-east, the most rainy quarter in this country, so that our proposed visit to Harper's Ferry was obliged to be deferred till the day following, as fine weather was essential to the enjoyment of its scenery.

Frederick is an old, and tolerably large town, built before the Revolution—at least 100 years ago —seated in a fine agricultural district, and with several hills quite near it, and called after Frederick Lord Baltimore. It is laid out with great regularity, and its streets are wide and well paved. The dwellings are mostly of brick and stone, there being very few of wood. Among the public edifices, there is a good Court House, standing in a large green lawn,



enclosed with a wall and railings of iron. The inhabitants are estimated at 6,000, all engaged in agriculture or trade, with the exception of the professional men among them; but few or no families living independently on their incomes, though it is thought there is more wealth here than in any town of the same size in this section of the country. There are 5 churches—1 Episcopal, 1 Catholic, 1 Methodist, 1 Baptist, and 1 which calls itself the Evangelical Reformed Church; the Methodists are most numerous, and the Catholics next in order, the greater number of these last being emigrant settlers from Ireland. There are 4 newspapers, published weekly, and 2 booksellers; but each of these unites the business of a linen and woollen draper, or a "dry-goods store," as it is called here, with that of the sale of books, the demand for the latter not being sufficiently extensive to admit of the requisite profit to carry it on alone. This single fact will show at once how much newspaper-reading takes precedence of all other kinds of study, when there are 4 newspapers, and only 2 half-booksellers in a population of 6,000 persons, the newspapers indeed being nearly as numerous as the churches.

On the morning of Wednesday the 24th, the rain having ceased, though the day was cold and cloudy, with a sharp biting wind from the north, we left Frederick for Harper's Ferry in the railroad cars at 11 A.M., and reached it about half-past 1; the distance being 26 miles; time, 2 and a half hours; and fare, $1\frac{1}{4}$ dollar each. The approach to Harper's Ferry is picturesque and interesting, from the time the cars reach the banks of the river Potomac, along

which both the railroad and canal run for several miles, before reaching the town itself; and the sight of this, just at the entrance to it, with the two rivers, Potomac and Shenandoah, the two bridges across the former, and the rich tract of land between these streams, combine to make a very pleasing picture.*

The village, or town, of Harper's Ferry is seated on the projecting promontory, or bluff, which divides the waters of the two rivers already named—the Potomac coming down from the north-west, and the Shenandoah coming up from the south-west; and both forcing their way through the barrier of the Blue-ridge—that range of the Alleghanny mountains which comes nearest to the sea coast, or the first ridge rising from the plains in going westward—till their streams unite in one; and then, preserving the name of the Potomac all the rest of its way, it flows by the city of Washington, till it reaches the Chesapeake Bay. As soon as we had entered the town, which is seated chiefly along the narrow edge or margin of the hill at its foot, circling round the promontory, so as to have its front extended along both rivers, we ascended the hill, in company with a guide, to enjoy the view from thence. The ascent is very steep, and yet several houses are built on it, as well as a large Catholic Church, and a Masonic Hall, two of the most prominent edifices, and erected here because no spot of ground could be had for building them on, in the narrow margin of the hill below, where the Methodists and Presbyterians had their churches constructed some time ago.

The first point of view was from a singular frag-

* See the accompanying Engraving.

ment of rock, broken into several pieces, and standing on a steep slope of stony surface, just on the edge of a fearful precipice, about 300 feet high, overlooking the town on the left bank of the Shenandoah; the rock resembling, in its position and appearance, those vibratory masses called "logging-rocks," near the Land's End, on the coast of Cornwall, in England. From this mass, which is called "Jefferson's Rock," and which has the name of Mr. Jefferson inscribed on its top, though now almost obliterated, the view up the Shenandoah to the south-west is very fine; but the view down the united waters to the eastward, is still finer; the bold promontories and lofty hills of the Virginia side, contrasting beautifully with the rich lands on the Maryland border; and the broken water of the stream, from the abundant rocks and rapids in it, adding a great charm to the picture. The town, the ferry, the boats, and the passengers, look like miniature toys, rather than realities, below; and the opposite mountain, on the right bank of the Shenandoah, down the side of which is a steep slide for shooting over the trunks of trees, hewn and lopped of their branches above, is bold and romantic in the extreme, the height of it above the river being about 600 feet.

The second point of view was considerably above Jefferson's Rock, and more to the north, being the topmost part of the general burying-ground, which is here perched on the summit of the hill, about 500 feet above the river, because the space required for the dwelling of the living being already insufficient in the town below, there is no room there for the interment of the dead, who thus occupy the mountain

top, as they do in China, and for nearly the same reason. From this point, you see the Potomac, which is the broader and deeper stream of the two, and has the clearer water, with a greenish tinge, which continues to be the prominent hue, even after its junction with the waters of the Shenandoah. It is across this stream, near the extreme point of the promontory on which the town is seated, that the two bridges are thrown; one of them is for the passage of the railroad cars exclusively, and the other was first constructed for ordinary passage of persons and vehicles, but being insecure, an additional way has been added to the railroad-bridge, to answer this purpose, and the old one will therefore soon be taken down and removed. The hill opposite to this point of view, on the Maryland side, is above 700 feet in height, and nearly perpendicular; and the railroad leading to Fredericktown goes along at the foot of the same ridge, where perpendicular cliffs of 300 feet high overhang the cars on the one hand, and the broken and foaming rapids of the Potomac are within a few feet of the cars on the other. From this point of view also, the scenery is highly picturesque; the seemingly diminutive houses skirting the foot of the promontory, and stretching along the right bank of the Potomac, as you look down upon them, add, by contrast, to the effect of grandeur of scale in the surrounding objects of nature. There were two elements wanting, however, to complete the beauty of the scene, which were, bright sunshine and full foliage; the season of the year deprived us of the latter, for none of the trees had yet opened in the bud, and a bleak and

cloudy day, with the wind from the north-east, prevented the former; so that we could only imagine what would have been its effect, if these two auxiliaries had been enjoyed by us. It must have been under more favourable circumstances than those which we were permitted to enjoy, that Mr. Jefferson saw it, to judge from his animated and enthusiastic description of the whole scene, in his Notes on Virginia, which is given in the following paragraph—

"The passage of the Potomac through the Blue Ridge is, perhaps, one of the most stupendous scenes in nature. You stand on a very high point of land; on your right comes up the Shenandoah, having ranged along the foot of the mountain an hundred miles to seek a vent; on your left approaches the Potomac, in quest of a passage also. In the moment of their junction, they rush together against the mountain, rend it asunder, and then pass off together to the sea. The first glance at this scene hurries our senses into the opinion that the earth has been created in time, that the mountains were formed first, that the rivers began to flow afterwards, that in this place particularly, they have been dammed up by the Blue Ridge of mountains, and have formed an ocean, which filled the whole valley; that continuing to rise, they have at length broken over at this spot, and have torn the mountain down from its summit to its base. The piles of rock on each hand, but particularly on the Shenandoah, the evident marks of their disrupture and avulsion from their beds by the most powerful agents of nature, corroborate the impression. But the distant finishing which nature has given to the picture is of a very different character; it is a true contrast to the foreground; it is as placid and delightful as that is wild and tremendous; for the mountain being cloven asunder, she presents to your eye, through the cleft, a small catch of smooth blue horizon, at an infinite distance, in the plain country, inviting you, as it were, from the riot and tumult roaring around, to pass through the breach, and participate of the calm below. Here the eye ultimately composes itself, and that way too the road

happens actually to lead. You cross the Potomac above the junction, pass along its side, through the base of the mountain, for three miles, its terrible precipices hanging in fragments over you, and within about twenty miles reach Fredericktown, and the fine country around that. This scene is worth a voyage across the Atlantic; yet here, as in the neighbourhood of the Natural Bridge, are people who have passed their lives within half a dozen miles of the spot, and have never been to survey these monuments of a war between rivers and mountains, which must have shaken the earth itself to its centre."*

With every allowance for the enthusiasm of a native Virginian, and a warm admirer of the beauties of nature, which Mr. Jefferson undoubtedly was, it is difficult to exempt him from the charge of exaggeration in his estimate of this scene. It is picturesque and beautiful—wild and romantic if you will—but scarcely reaches the sublime; and if this alone were worth a voyage across the Atlantic to see, there are fifty other objects in the country much more so. The White Mountains of New Hampshire, the splendid scenery of the Hudson river, the green hills of Vermont, the Falls of Trenton and Niagara, the Alleghannies of Virginia, the Natural Bridge, Wyer's Cave, with the whole of the beautiful district of Buncombe, in North Carolina, and the Falls of Tekoa, in the mountains of Georgia, are all as superior in grandeur and beauty to Harper's Ferry, as that is superior to the ordinary junction of rivers, such as that of the Red River and the Mississippi, or any other streams uniting on flat and alluvial tracts. Nevertheless it is worthy of a visit from any point of the United States, though hardly worth a voyage across

* Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, 8vo., pp. 17, 18.

the Atlantic, and it may suggest ideas of grandeur and convulsion, connected with its original breach in the mountains, though hardly to the extent of "shaking the very earth itself to its centre." But the intense enjoyment of beautiful scenery is far more rare than indifference to it; and of the two, I would much rather be myself the victim of some delusion on the side of grandeur and loveliness, than be, like some, as cold and indifferent to picturesque beauty as the inanimate objects on which their eyes are fixed.

Descending from the hill, we were shown around the town, and went through all the workshops of the armoury, and chambers of the arsenal here, and gathered from our visit these particulars respecting the town itself. It was a place of some note before the Revolution, but in the war of that period it became more so, from the fact of the revolutionary army being stationed at this spot, and the first armoury for its supply being established here, and continued ever since. The town is in the State of Virginia, the waters of the Potomac being here the dividing line between it and Maryland. The strip of land around the foot of the promontory on which it stands is so narrow, that not more than a single street could be built on it; and this being now filled up, all new houses must be built on the steep side of the hill. Along the banks of the Shenandoah, the railroad is continued on to Winchester in Virginia, about 40 miles to the south-west, and along the banks of the Potomac, the railroad is constructing towards Cumberland, in Maryland, as part of the great line

intended to be carried on ultimately to Wheeling, in Virginia, on the banks of the Ohio ; the average expense of this line being 50,000 dollars per mile, for a double track. The four great Atlantic cities are each straining every effort to get a highway from the coast to the Mississippi, which shall give to their respective ports the preference as a mart of import and purchase for the Western merchants. Boston is thus making her railroad through Massachusetts and Connecticut to the Hudson river, there to join the great line from Albany to Buffalo, and thence to the Mississippi by the Lakes. New York has this advantage already, and is largely enriched by it. Philadelphia is striving hard to complete her railroad from the Susquehannah to Pittsburgh. Baltimore is stretching her line from the Patapsco to Wheeling on the Ohio. And Charleston thinks it worth while to put in her claim for a share of the western trade, by pushing her line from Columbia along to Cincinnati. But all are now impeded in their onward march, by the pecuniary embarrassments of the times, and the difficulty of prevailing on capitalists to invest further sums in these vast and hazardous undertakings ; though the time will come, no doubt, when confidence will be revived, as the rich resources of the country get more and more developed ; and when these works shall be finished, there will be four or five separate routes, by railroads and steam-boats, from the Atlantic to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, and from thence, very probably, by the Columbia river and Astoria to the Pacific.

There are not more than 2,000 inhabitants at

present residing in the town of Harper's Ferry, and fully one half of these are persons connected with and depending for their subsistence on the works in the armoury and arsenal. The workshops of the former are ranged along the banks of the Potomac, and all their machinery is moved by water-power. There are but two national armouries for the manufacture of small arms in the United States, the one here, and the other at Springfield, Massachusetts; this is the oldest, and the other is the largest of the two. There are several arsenals, where supplies of arms are kept when made, but these two are said to be the only places of the national manufacture. At present, there are about 300 men employed; a few years ago there were 500; and the average wages earned by them is a dollar and half, or six shillings sterling per day; none being under a dollar, and many earning more than two. About one half are paid by the day, and these work from 7 in the morning till 6 in the evening, deducting an hour for breakfast and an hour for dinner, making their time of actual labour, therefore, nine hours per day. The other half are paid by the piece, and these prefer coming to work at 4 in the morning, and leaving off at 4 in the afternoon, having also two hours in the day for their meals, so that these work ten hours each day, and these also make the higher wages.

We were shown, with great readiness, all the processes in the manufacture of the muskets, carbines, pistols, and bayonets, in which machinery is very generally used, and the work turned out by it appeared to be quite as good as any executed in England. The muskets, indeed, seemed to me stronger and

better finished than those made at the Tower; no expense being spared to copy all the improvements of England and France—and to add to these, original ideas of their own. In some years they have made as many as 80,000 muskets, but they have rarely more than 20,000 on hand. The cost of each musket, with all its apparatus complete, is about 14 dollars, or *2l.* 16*s.* sterling, and their weight is 10½ lbs. The wood used for the gun-stocks is walnut, the lightest, toughest, and closest grained, which receives a fine brown polish; the barrels are all tried seven or eight times, full charged, before they are put on the stocks, and they have no less than 20,000 rejected barrels in the arsenal. These are sold, by auction, at stated periods, to purchasers who, it was understood, make them up in a cheap way, with stocks and locks, for the South American market: so that, in the civil wars, which still unhappily distract so large a portion of that vast continent, these guns were used, as often perhaps to kill, by bursting, the person carrying them, as the enemy against whom they might be directed. As in England, the musket barrels were all used originally in a highly polished state; but after the example of the British army, the practice of browning them was introduced. This has been found, however, from some defect in the materials or process, to lead to rusting beneath the varnish, and consequent decay of the barrel, and is now abandoned for the old mode of high polishing.

All the varied patterns of English, French, and other muskets, of different periods, from the Revolution, onward, were carefully preserved, and such

parts of them as were thought best, adopted. Several original American inventions were also shown to us, in rifles and carbines, some of which were loaded in the breech of the barrel, by lifting it out of the stock, so as to save the use of the ramrod, and these could be fired six times in a minute, while the ordinary musket could not be loaded and fired oftener than three. There were also some rifles, which were charged with revolving barrels, having nine cartridges and balls in them, so as to be discharged nine times in succession without reloading; and various other ingenious improvements in locks, ramrods, and bayonets, were shown to us.

The Arsenal is a large brick building, in the centre of a lawn, and is walled round, the wall being surmounted with a railing made of hollow tubes, like musket-barrels, and these bearing fixed bayonets. In the several stores of this building, the arms are neatly arranged, and carefully packed, to send off to the other Arsenals throughout the country. The sum annually appropriated by Congress for the Armoury here is 180,000 dollars; and the workmen and their families living by their labour on these works, amount to at least 1,000 individuals.

We remained at the hotel for the night, with tolerable comfort, there being no less than five of these establishments in this small place, so that the competition among them produces a more than usual desire to accommodate and satisfy their guests; and in the morning we returned by the railroad to Frederick. As the day was beautifully bright and fine, the whole picture looked much more splendid than under the cloudy sky of yesterday. In returning,

we had a more deliberate view of the overhanging cliffs, at the foot of which the cars passed, on the very brink of the Potomac; and having a young English gentleman from Baltimore, Mr. Hazelhurst, professionally employed as an assistant-engineer, under his relative, Mr. B. H. Latrobe, who went with us in the cars to-day, we stopped at the remarkable vein of puddingstone, or breccia, through which a cutting had been made for the railway, to get a slab of the stone sufficiently large for a table. This is an agglomeration of pebbles of various kinds, in great variety, imbedded in quartz and indurated clay, and forming what is called the Potomac marble, out of which the beautiful shafts of the columns that sustain the roof of the Hall of Representatives at Washington were made. When sawn through and polished, these pebbles produce a richly-variegated surface of all colours and forms, though the hardness of the material makes the working so costly as to prevent its general use. A ridge or vein of it, about 20 feet high, and 50 feet thick, runs across the Potomac river, and extends some distance in length on each side; and through this, the cuttings for the railroad were made, so as to expose its sides completely to view.

In our way to Frederick, we passed also over the Carrollton Manor, which is regarded as one of the finest estates in this part of the country, and the land of which is deemed worth, in different parts, from 70 to 100 dollars per acre, the average of the surrounding farms being about 50 dollars only, though that is twice as high as the average of farm-lands not nearer towns than this, in the best parts of

the interior of the State of New York. We conversed with one of the tenants on this estate, who thought it the cheapest land in the country, even at this high rate, and who would willingly buy a portion of it at 120 dollars; at present he rented his farm at 3 dollars an acre, and many others paid higher; the land being deemed the most productive of wheat, and less liable to exhaustion of any land in these parts; its average return was 35 bushels to the acre, and sometimes 40, and the quality of its grain always ensured it a high price.

Mr. Charles Carroll was a gentleman of Irish descent, and a Roman Catholic, who was a large landed proprietor at the period of the American Revolution. He was one of the members of the Convention that met at Philadelphia, and signed there the Declaration of Independence; and our informant mentioned this anecdote of his conduct at that time. When he had signed his name, simply Charles Carroll, one of the members near him said, "Well, you will be safe enough, as there are so many Charles Carrolls in the country;" on which the old patriot, without saying a word in reply, resumed the pen, and added the words "of Carrollton," this being the only signature attached to the document with a specific designation. On this, another member, who saw this act, exclaimed, "There goes a million: for he risks that at least by this addition to his name; as his single property is worth more than that of all the others united." Mr. Carroll was the survivor of all his associates in this great work, and died as the last of the signers, but a few years since, in 1832. A large con-

course of persons attended his funeral, as he was more universally beloved and respected, for his public and private virtues, than any man in the United States, since the death of Washington. It was remarked that Mr. Charles Carroll was himself the only son of an only son, and that he left an only son, who now possesses an only son, to whom the property of Carrollton Manor still belongs; so that it approaches, in practice, to an entailed estate, though the law of primogeniture is abolished in every State of the Union; and this property, and that of Mr. Stephen Van Ranssalaer's, at Albany, are the only instances remembered here, in which large landed-property has remained undivided beyond the second generation. -Mr. Carroll's daughter, Mrs. Caton, of Baltimore, was the mother of the three ladies now belonging to the British peerage, as the Marchioness of Wellesley, the Duchess of Leeds, and the Marchioness of Stafford. So that patriotism, virtue, wealth, and honours, are all happily blended with the venerated name of "Carroll of Carrollton."

CHAP. VII

Journey to Pittsburgh on the Ohio—Spread of Puseyite doctrines by the Oxford Tracts—Swiss passenger, and young Kentuckian farmer—Universality of national vanity—Night journey to Hancock and Cumberland—Interesting pass, like the Notch of the White Mountains—Continued ascent to loftier hills and higher levels—Baltimore and Ohio railroad, length and cost—Views of the Alleghannies—Ascent of Laurel Hill—Most extensive continuous forest on the globe—Specimens of Western inns, eight persons in four beds—Arrival at Brownsville—Hotel register—State of parties—Hudibrastic verse—Position of the town—Monongahela river—Specimen of entertainments in provincial towns—Deference to religious scruples and fastidious taste—Voyage by steamer down the Monongahela river—Mines and beds of coal abounding in the hills—Manufactories of glass—Freights of flour—Steamers with stern-wheels—Scenery of the river—Violent concussion with a rival steamer—Arrival at Pittsburgh, and stay there.

We remained another night at Fredericktown, and on Friday, the 27th of March, we left it by the stage-coach for Brownsville, on the Monongahela river, in Pennsylvania, where we were to embark for Pittsburgh. The distance was 160 miles, the fare 12 dollars each. We left Fredericktown at 12, with the full number of passengers, nine inside, and had no very agreeable anticipations from their appearance, but one old man excited our sympathy in a powerful degree. He was a farmer, working on his lands, with his sons around him, who aided him

in his labours; and having spoken to one of them, a youth of 18, a little harshly, because he had neglected to do something required of him, the son had gone off in his working-dress to the West, determined to seek his own living. The distress of the venerable parent was excessive;—his inquiries of every one wherever we halted, respecting his boy, the description he gave of his dress and appearance, occasionally mingled with his tears, was very touching;—and we all rejoiced when some clue seemed to be given to his track, and a hope was excited that he might be overtaken. We carried the old man on to a point which he thought beyond his son's reaching, and there he got out to remain, and by tracing his way backward, intercept him if possible in his path.

We passed through a fertile tract of country, with the village of Middletown at 8 miles' distance, and Boonesborough about the same, from thence, and reached Hagerstown, a distance of 9 miles beyond this, about 5 o'clock, thus travelling at the rate of about 5 miles an hour. The Court was here in Session, and one of the passengers we brought with us was a legal gentleman going there on professional business. Learning that I was an Englishman, he endeavoured to ascertain from me what progress the doctrines of the Oxford Tracts were making among the Episcopal clergy of England, which he had understood to be so great as to be likely to embrace soon the whole body of the English established Church. I told him my own information did not warrant my sustaining such a position, though undoubtedly they had made greater progress than was at first expected. He said that these doctrines were making rapid strides among

the Episcopal clergy of the United States, and most of the bishops had embraced them. Indeed, so strong was the feeling on this subject, here in Maryland, that the election of the next bishop, now pending, would turn entirely upon that question. They had two very eminent clergymen in Baltimore, Dr. Wyatt, at the head of the High Church party, who was an advocate for the doctrines of the Oxford Tracts; and Dr. Johns, the head of the Evangelical or Low Church party, who was against these doctrines. Among the Episcopalians of Baltimore, the adherents of each of these was so nearly equal in number, that when the last Episcopal Convention of clerical and lay members was formed (of which he was a member), they were unable to obtain sufficient predominance on either side, to put either of these men in nomination for the vacant bishopric; so that they were now accordingly looking around among the clergy of other States for their candidate; and he was of opinion that the advocate of the doctrines of the Oxford Tracts would be elected, if the contest were between himself and any other candidate for the office of bishop, opposed to these doctrines.

We had also among our fellow-passengers a Swiss gentleman, who spoke English so imperfectly as to make it difficult to understand him, who was, nevertheless, a citizen of the United States, having been some years in the country, and in possession, according to his own statement, of 20,000 acres of land in Western Virginia, below Wheeling, and about four miles only from the banks of the Ohio river. Like most other persons, he considered his own country the best in the world, and his own countrymen the

most excellent; and he was not a little proud that one of the ablest, and one of the richest men that had been known in the United States, were, like himself, natives of Switzerland, namely, Mr. Albert Gallatin, the celebrated statesman and minister, and Mr. Stephen Girard, the celebrated banker. A young Kentuckian, son of a farmer, was also one of the pleasing members of the party, frank, generous, and amiable, with great shrewdness, and a large fund of information respecting his own country; so that the conversation was at once animated, instructive, and agreeable.

We continued our journey through the night, over a hilly country, of which we could see but little, and passed the towns or villages of Park Head, Hancock, Bevansville, and Flint Stone; all small, and at distances of from 8 to 12 miles apart; when about 8 o'clock in the morning we reached Cumberland, the largest town in the route, containing about 4,000 inhabitants, and here we halted to breakfast.

Nothing remarkable engaged our attention in the town, except that we were much struck with the beauty of its situation, on a rich level plain, close to the foot of some lofty and romantic hills. But on getting a mile or two beyond the town, we went through a remarkably narrow and lofty pass, which ran for a considerable distance, between opposite mountains, from 700 to 800 feet high, many parts in perpendicular cliffs, and everywhere very steep, while the clear and bright Potomac ran in a bubbling stream, over broken rocks and a pebbly bed, in the centre of the pass, reminding us strongly of the passage of the river Saco through the Notch of the

White Mountains, in New Hampshire, which the whole scene strikingly resembled.

From hence we began to ascend to a higher level, and the hills became steeper and loftier at every succeeding ridge. We were now, in short, fairly amidst the chains of the Alleghannies, passing the villages of Frostburgh and Tomlinson, having patches of unmelted snow lying near the road-side of considerable depth, and finding everywhere innumerable bushes of the rhododendron and kalmia, abounding in this mountain region, but not yet putting forth their buds.

The Baltimore and Ohio railroad is intended to cross these mountains not far from this, and it is said that as far west as Cumberland there will be only one summit to cross, the gradual ascent to which will be by an acclivity not exceeding 18 feet of elevation to the mile; but on reaching the ridges here, a series of inclined planes will be necessary, to overcome a summit of 1,200 feet; the descent from which, to the Ohio river, will, however, be so gentle and gradual, as to be traversable, up or down, by locomotive engines, without any difficulty. The whole line, when completed, will be 325 miles; the estimated cost of the work is 5,000,000 dollars, or a million sterling. From the summits of the several ridges that we crossed, the views were very fine, though not so grand or beautiful as those among the Alleghannies farther south in Virginia; and, notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the weather, for it rained almost continually through the day, we were much pleased with the generally rich appearance of the country. The willows alone had just

begun to put forth their leaves, and some of the earlier trees were just bursting in the bud; but there was no foliage yet clothing the forest trees, so that the picture was deficient in one of its greatest charms, the rich leafy dress of summer.

We supped at Smithfield, a small village which we reached about sun-set, and after leaving this, we began the long ascent of Laurel Hill, the highest summit of the Alleghannies crossed on the Cumberland route; being not more than 1,500 feet above the level of the sea, and none of the surrounding peaks or ridges seen from hence appeared to be more than 2,000 feet in height. Everywhere the forest seemed to hold its dominion yet over the land; the few spots cleared along the margin of the road being mere specks compared with the great and dense masses of uncleared woods, which stretch from this northward to Hudson's Bay, southward to the Gulf of Mexico, and westward from within a few miles of the Atlantic to beyond the Mississippi, forming, it is believed, the most extensive continuous forest that exists anywhere on the surface of the globe! This is destined, in time, no doubt, to fall, like the primitive forests of other and older countries, before the axe of the woodman; and where tangled brushwood and masses of impenetrable brakes and briars now exist, there will, some centuries hence, be planted large and flourishing cities, in which wood, now so abundant, will be so scarce as to be reckoned among the luxuries of life.

We reached Uniontown about midnight, and there alighted to pass the night, though experiencing the usual indifference and inattention of all the

American hotels on the great roads, where the traveller sees nothing of the master of the house, till he pays his bill, and never gets even a glimpse of the mistress. Everything is left to the barkeeper, who is generally a rough, vulgar, and insolent man; and some black or white servants, the former stupid and dirty, and the latter lazy and impudent; all acting as though they thought they were conferring a favour on the traveller to give him any shelter at all, and taking no pains whatever to see that he is accommodated according to his wishes.

It was nearly two hours before we could get bed-rooms made even tolerably decent for our reception, and then with the greatest difficulty. Instead of having bed-rooms ready for such travellers as may come, as in England, the rule in this country seems to be, not to touch a room that one traveller has left, until another comes to occupy it, though the interval should be several days. It is also expected that you should take the first room shown to you, and be content; for when larger, or more airy, or more comfortable apartments are inquired after, than those first shown, great wonder is expressed at your not being satisfied, and you are very often told that "if this does not suit you, you may accommodate yourself elsewhere." In each of the two rooms we selected, there were four beds, and these so placed as to be each close up to the wall, so as to close up all access to the windows; no locks to the doors, no bell in the room, and every thing in the shape of washing-materials to be collected, and the beds to be made.

We were, after all, taught to consider ourselves as fortunate, in each having a separate room; as in one

of the chambers that we passed, with the door left open for air, there were eight men sleeping in the four beds, two in each, which we were told in the country inns of the West was a common sight.

We left Uniontown by the stage-coach for Brownsville at 10, and after a pleasant ride, through a more varied and agreeable country than we had yet passed, full of rich and picturesque views, we reached Brownsville, a distance of 13 miles, in about three hours; the average rate of our whole journey not exceeding 5 miles in the hour, and in the more hilly parts about 4 only. The road from Cumberland, thus far, is called the National Road; being the only one in the country made and kept up at the expense of the general government, and intended to go across from the Atlantic, through Wheeling on the Ohio, to Columbus, Indianopolis and Vandalia, the capitals of the three States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, to St. Louis in Missouri. It is everywhere in excellent condition, being macadamized throughout, and is not surpassed by any road in the Union over which we have yet travelled; though, owing to the steep and long hills, and still more to the irregularity of the hours of arrival and departure at certain points, which prevents the meals being made ready for passengers at fixed hours, or the horses being kept ready for changing at stated moments—so that both have to be prepared *after* the coach has reached its station, which it does sometimes an hour before, and sometimes an hour after, its nominal time—the delays are both frequent and tedious.

The approach to Brownsville is very striking: from the summit of the eastern ridge you look down

westward into the valley of the Monongahela, and on its right bank, steeply sloping down to the stream, the town of Brownsville is seated; while the winding surface of the river, and a closed wooden bridge (of which we saw very few in our route, the bridges as well as the houses being much more generally constructed of stone than of wood), with the summits of several ridges of hills seen in the distance, make up a most varied and agreeable picture. We alighted at the principal hotel there; and after all the accustomed difficulties of obtaining and preparing rooms for our accommodation, we made ourselves sufficiently comfortable to pass a pleasant day. Brownsville is a small town, containing not more than 3,000 inhabitants, and less conveniently planned and built than is general with towns in the United States. It stands on the steep slope of the hill, extending up about half a mile from the river's edge, while the bank or landing-place is still steeper, and most inconvenient for embarkation in the boats, especially in dirty weather. The river Monongahela rises in the mountains of Western Virginia, and being west of the Alleghannies, it flows to the north and west for about 200 miles before it reaches the point of junction with the stream called the Alleghanny, when the united waters of both form the larger river Ohio. It is here about half a mile broad, and sufficiently deep for tolerably large steam-boats; the hills on either side rise to the height of from 300 to 500 feet, while a good wooden bridge, closed up on both sides, and roofed, so as to form a large tunnel, lighted by small side-windows at distant inter-

vals, crosses the river at the southern end of the town.

In the hotel in which we staid, called "Ball's Hotel," a Register was kept, after the usual fashion in this country, in which all persons coming to the house, though they should remain only for a few hours, are expected to enter their names, their town of residence, and their place of destination; but in this was an additional column for remarks, in which each person entered the name of the Presidential candidate for whom he intended to vote. Thus the column contained the entries of—"Harrison against the world"—"Van Buren for ever!"—"Henry Clay, the pride of Kentucky"—"Little Van, the Magician"—"Old Tippecanoe, and no Sub-Treasury" "The Farmer of North Bend"—"Hurrah for Jackson!"—"Van Buren again"—"Log Cabin and Hard Cider," and so on, page after page.

In this way some attempt is made to ascertain the strength of parties, but the test is most imperfect. An amusing entry was made in the first page, in the following Hudibrastic verse:—

"Old Connecticut, to frogs once fatal,
Is the State I call my natal;
Which most of other States surpasses
In pumpkins—johnny-cakes—molasses—
Rogues—priests—attornies—quack-physicians—
Blue-laws, and black-coat politicians;
Where many a father's son—yes, plenty—
Is father of a son at twenty,
And many a mother's maid has been
A mother made at seventeen,
And many more, at twenty-seven,
Pray more for husbands than for heaven."

JAMES WILSON.

The taste of the resident inhabitants of these small towns, in comparatively remote districts, is neither so literary nor refined as in the larger cities. Recreations and amusements they of course desire, like all other persons; but the kind most frequently furnished to them, and that in which they appear most to delight, according to the testimony of those living among them, is somewhat of the "Bartholomew Fair" school; such as, indeed, is still most highly relished by the least instructed of the population in the mother-country of Old England; so that we have not much to reproach them with on this score. America is a younger country than England, and the country towns are younger than the larger cities; and as children everywhere prefer the amusing to the instructive, and the wonderful to the true, so here, the magician and the juggler are in greater request than the graver teacher. The following is a specimen of one of the most recent and most popular exhibitions along the line of the Cumberland road, through the towns and villages passed in our route, as taken from the printed bill or announcement:—

"Wonderful Exhibition of Magic, Philosophical, Mechanical, Chemical, Thaumaturgical, and Vocal ILLUSIONS, as performed by the ancient Sorcerers and Indian Brahmins; as exhibited at the Court of Ispahan, before his Mightiness Mahomed Schah, and also before the Court of ENGLAND, to the astonishment and approbation of their Majesties and Suites.

"The Illusions are of the first order, truly magnificent, instructive, and amusing, and of such a nature, that persons of the STICTEST RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES can feel NO repugnance in witnessing."

The last sentence is a bait, to catch those who, though professedly religious, have a strong tendency to relish everything in the shape of pleasure, if it can only be so glossed over as not to *appear* to be improper for "strictly religious persons" to enjoy; and the palpable lie of the preceding paragraph, respecting the "Court of Ispahan and the Court of England," would not offend these seemingly fastidious persons, provided they could but compromise with their consciences, so as to save appearances at least. The bill thus proceeds:—

"The Stage is fitted up so as to represent the Temple of the Magi at Ispahan! and the Exhibition will commence with the Invocation of Psontompanech. The Chant of the Sacred Plume! intimating the presence of the Revealer of Secrets, and appearance of the Magician. In the course of the evening, a variety of good Comic Songs. The admirers of the curious and the wonderful—believers in the marvellous—together with the sceptics, who will not credit the performances of the impossible, are respectfully informed that an opportunity to witness Feats, altogether made up in the Black Art, is now offered to them."

The "Sceptics" here alluded to, are not infidels, but merely "those who will not credit the performance of the impossible," which must certainly form a large class: yet when religious persons see "miracles" and "deceptions" spoken of as one and the same thing; when they perceive how the "Black Art" is recommended for its utility to the "duellist," they may well grow a little scrupulous; and therefore another bait is added at the end, to lure them to the net notwithstanding. The bill thus concludes:—

"By numerous and improved Apparatus, Mr. Harper is enabled to add numerous Miracles and Deceptions, new to the

public. The most grotesque and surprising changes take place; —A Lady's Glove becomes a living Rabbit or a Mass of Sugar-Plums. After a plentiful Meal of Hemp and Tow, which will become Fire and Smoke in the act of chewing, a supply of his most beautiful and varied Ribands of many colours will be extracted from the mouth by this ingenious manufacturer. Lastly, he will show the immense advantage which the duellist may derive from the study of the Black Art, by permitting any Gentleman to load and fire a pistol at him, containing many balls!—He will endeavour to catch them in his hands; thus concluding the dead-shot Magii. The utmost order and decorum will be observed. The Manager pledges himself that neither word nor action will be introduced that may offend the ear of the *most fastidious* or *susceptible mind*."

It should be added, however, that in the interior towns of Pennsylvania not more than half the population are native Americans, the other half being made up of Germans and Irish, and these of the lowest kind; but still it is chiefly by the Americans that these exhibitions are frequented—the Irish being too poor, and the Germans too penurious, to support them; and education being less generally extended among the humbler class of natives in Pennsylvania than in any of all the Free States in the Union—Philadelphia being the only city in all the State in which literature, science, or art can be said to have any footing at present.

At 10 o'clock we left the hotel of Brownsville for the steam-boat which was to convey us to Pittsburgh. The morning was rainy, and the streets almost impassable from mud. We engaged a carriage and pair to take us to the landing-place; but on its driver attempting to back the horses, so as to bring his carriage nearer to the side pavement, the horses

reared and plunged, and after a violent struggle, it ended in a complete upset; so that we considered it a fortunate escape not to have yet entered the vehicle. We were therefore compelled to walk, and literally to wade through the mud of the steep and slippery banks at the place of embarkation.

The name of the steamer was "The Exact;" but in this instance it did not justify its claim to such a name; for though the advertised hour of departure was 10 o'clock, it was nearly an hour past noon before we left the landing. We had scarcely been under way, before we learnt that there was but one wheel in action; the spindle of the other having been this morning under repair at the smith's forge, and the paddles not yet fitted on to it. We made therefore very slow progress with a deeply-laden and heavy boat, and only one wheel to propel her; our speed certainly not exceeding five miles an hour.

On our way down, too, we stopped so frequently, and remained so long at each place, that by sunset we had not got more than ten miles from the town, though we had been assured on the previous day that we should reach Pittsburgh by 5 o'clock; and at sunset, or half-past six, it was about 50 miles distant. The object of such stoppages was to take in goods on freight, chiefly barrels of flour, which paid 15 cents. each for conveyance; and large cases of window-glass, manufactured at two or three small places on the banks of the river (particularly Cook's Town), where, and in the neighbourhood, are several furnaces and glass manufactories.

The hills on each side the river were from 200 to 400 feet high, in general rocky, though occasionally

presenting a few fields and patches of green, and having a great variety of wood, the trees just putting forth their buds, but none yet expanded into leaves. Near the foot, and sometimes higher up the sides of these hills, were seen horizontal shafts or passages, cut into the coal-beds which are found here, and extending, as we were told, upwards of a mile inward in some instances, with space enough for horses and waggons to go in, and turn round when in the more open part of the mine, and bring out their loads. The coal is much more bituminous than that of Newcastle in England, and is therefore more easily ignited; burning with abundance of bright flame, and yielding also considerable smoke; being in all these particulars very different from the anthracite, found so abundantly on the eastern side of the mountains. It is so cheap here as to cost only 3 cents a bushel, and can be put on board and landed at Pittsburgh for four cents, or two pence English.

In the course of our progress we saw two or three small steamers with their paddle-wheel at the stern instead of at the sides; there being only one wheel, right in the centre over the stern. By this, it is said, they are propelled in a straight course, almost as rapidly as by two at the sides; but it renders them difficult to steer, though, adding nothing to the breadth of the vessels, they are less liable to get foul of each other.

From what we saw of the Monongahela river between noon and sunset, the scenery appeared to be hilly and romantic, and a few weeks later in the spring would be no doubt greatly increased in beauty by the foliage of the woods, with which each bank is

thickly studded. Its winding course, too, presented a perpetual succession of fine bold promontories, and perspective openings, which, in a bright day of May or June, would furnish a series of charming pictures.

About 10 o'clock at night we were reported to be still 20 miles from Pittsburgh, so that many of the passengers retired to their berths, intending to defer their landing till morning, and even those that remained up were dozing by the stove. While this universal drowsiness hung over all, the profound stillness of the hour was suddenly broken by a violent concussion and loud crash, as if the vessel had been blown into the air. The force of the shock was sufficient to throw from their beds those who had retired; and all who were in the foremost part of the boat, as soon as they could regain their footing, ran aft, as if the vessel were in some imminent peril in the part from whence they came. At the same instant that this crash was felt and heard, a large blaze of fire was seen at the bow; so that some thought the boiler had burst, some that gunpowder had exploded, and some that the hull was on fire. But neither of these was true. It appeared that the captain or pilot of a rival steamer, called "The Royal," and much heavier than "The Exact," in which we were, sought the opportunity to vent their ill-will against their competitors by running, with all the force of their steam up, and when going with the greatest velocity, right across our bows. The stem of "The Royal" struck the hull of "The Exact" about one fourth of her length from the bow, carried away all her bulwarks and gangway planks, knocked her boilers out

of their beds, damaged the only side-wheel we had shipped; and scattered, by the shock, nearly all the fire out of the stoves; so that we were in danger of being sunk, burnt, and blown up, all at the same time. Our only remedy was to haul in for the river's bank, and lay the damaged hull ashore, which was done; and there, after a delay of about an hour, we put things in sufficient order to enable us to proceed towards Pittsburgh, where we did not arrive till long past midnight, and then in a most dilapidated condition.

We were fortunate in finding on the next day agreeable quarters in the private boarding-house of Major Graham, whose dwelling was seated pleasantly on the banks of the river, and somewhat removed from the smoke and noise of the city, and here we remained for about ten days.

CHAP. VIII.

Early history of Pittsburgh—Progressive increase—Site of the city—Scenery of its environs—Populous suburbs—Rivers—Navigation—Bridges—Plan of the City—Resemblance in position to New York—Public buildings—Court-house—Banks—Churches—Literary institutions—Gas-works—Penitentiary—Iron founderies—Steam-engines—Glass-works—White-lead—Powder—Cotton-factories—Coal-trade—Steam-boats—Value—Anecdote of Louis Philippe, the king of the French—First ship sailing from Pittsburgh to Europe—Pittsburgh pre-eminently "The City of Soot"—Fine views from the surrounding eminences—Municipal government—Drunken scene in the Legislature of Pennsylvania—Profane admixture of piety with drunkenness—Health and longevity of Pittsburgh and its environs—Comparison of crime between London and New York.

Pittsburgh is not of very old date, its existence, as an inhabited town, beginning only about the period of the Revolution. Its site, at the junction of the Monongahela and Alleghanny rivers, where the Ohio begins, was first occupied by the French, as a fort, about the year 1750. The Governor of Canada, then a French colony, conceived the plan of uniting this province to the French colony of Louisiana, in the extreme South, by a line of forts placed at different distances along the rivers; and the spot on which Pittsburgh now stands was chosen for one of these. The Governor of Virginia, then a British colony, Lord Dunmore, hearing of this design, sent the young George Washington—then an officer in the

British service, and subsequently the distinguished first President of the American Republic—to demand an explanation of the designs of the French, who were then at Fort Venango, where the town of Franklin now stands, at a distance of 124 miles above Pittsburgh, on the Alleghanny river. Washington, in his way there, examined this spot, at the junction of the Alleghanny and Monongahela, where there was then not a single white person residing, and thought it so favourable a position for a settlement or fort, that in the following spring, the Virginia Company took possession of it, and began to erect a redoubt there. Before it was completed, however, a French officer, Colonel Contrecœur, with a flotilla of 300 canoes, and 1,000 Indians and Frenchmen, arrived here with 18 pieces of cannon, captured the place from the British, and took possession. This was the first open act of hostility on the part of the French, and being followed by several others, it led to the long and bloody war between them and the British, and the infamous employment of Indians by both parties, to massacre, tomahawk, and scalp the other.

An expedition was next sent against this fort in 1755, under General Braddock, in which George Washington also took his share, but it was entirely defeated by the French, who had strengthened their fortifications, and called the place Fort Du Quesne. In 1758, another expedition, under General Forbes, was sent against this fort; and although its advanced-guard, under Major Grant, amounting to 800 men, was defeated, with the loss of 300 killed and taken prisoners, himself among the latter number; yet, on

the coming up of the main-body of the army, soon afterwards, the French thought it prudent to set fire to the fort, and abandon it, leaving the British to enter without opposition. They then repaired the fort, garrisoned it, and changed its name to Fort Pitt, in honour of the British minister, then William Pitt, afterwards the great Lord Chatham.

Subsequently to this period, the garrison here suffered considerably from repeated attacks of the Indians in alliance with the French; when, in 1764, a treaty of peace placed them out of all further danger from these savage tribes. It was in this year that a redoubt was erected of brick, a portion of which still remains, as the only relic of ante-revolutionary times, a stone block in part of the southern-face of this redoubt bearing the inscription "Col. Bouquet, 1764."

In 1775, the year before the Declaration of Independence, there were not more than from 25 to 30 dwelling-houses where Pittsburgh now stands. But after the close of the revolutionary war, these had others added to the number. The whole of this territory belonged to the family of the first founder of Pennsylvania, in which Pittsburgh lies, William Penn; and these taking part with the British in the contest, their proprietary-rights, as granted by Royal Charter, were abrogated by an act of the State Legislature; but whatever private property they held by purchase, wills, or descent, was preserved to them. The Manor of Pittsburgh, as it had been called, since the small village had succeeded to the mere fort, belonged to the Penns by one of these private rights, and it contained about 6,000 acres.

In 1784, therefore, the agent of the family was instructed to have the Manor surveyed, and divided off into town-lots, for building in the town of Pittsburgh. These were rapidly purchased, and from this period, therefore, may be dated the commencement of the present city, which hardly promised to thrive so fast as it has done, when seen by its early visitors. One of these, Mr. Arthur Lee, an American commissioner appointed to treat with the Indians, passed through the infant-settlement in 1784, and has left on record this opinion of it, extracted from his Journal—

"Pittsburgh is inhabited almost entirely by Scotch and Irish, who live in paltry log-houses, and are as dirty as in the north of Ireland, or even Scotland. There is a great deal of small-trade carried on; the goods being brought at the vast expense of forty-five shillings per hundred-weight from Philadelphia and Baltimore. They take, in the shops, money, wheat-flour, and skins. There are in the town four attornies, two doctors, and not a priest of any persuasion, nor church, nor chapel. The rivers encroach fast on the town, and to such a degree, that, as a gentleman told me, the Alleghanny had within thirty years of his memory carried away one hundred yards. The place, I believe, will never be considerable."

In this last opinion, however, the commissioner was not correct, as it has already, in little more than half a century, become a considerable place, and is likely to become much more so before long. The first newspaper published here, was in 1786, only two years after Mr. Lee's visit, under the title of the Pittsburgh Gazette. Emigration from the Atlantic shores, westward, became more general, and in 1796, the population was 1395. It was incorporated as a borough in 1794, and as a city in 1816, and in the

last census taken of Pittsburgh and its environs, its population appeared to be about 60,000, of whom not more than one-half were native Americans; the Germans numbering 12,000, the Irish 10,000, the English, Welsh, and Scotch 6,000, the French about 1,000, and the Africans about 2,000.—Such has been the progress of Pittsburgh from 1784 to 1840.

The site of the city is on the flat projecting tongue of land which divides the waters of the Monongahela from those of the Alleghanny rivers—exactly resembling the site of New York, between the Hudson and the East river—and Charleston, in South Carolina, between the streams of the Ashley and the Cooper. The flat plain on which the city stands, extends about a mile only from the point of the tongue inward, when the ground rises to a steep hill, of about 400 feet, which overlooks the town. The area, therefore, is somewhat circumscribed, and Pittsburgh proper can never become a very large city in itself. But, as on both banks of the two rivers there is abundant room for suburbs, it may, like London, expand in this way; and as our huge metropolis is made up of London, Westminster, Lambeth, Southwark, Woolwich, Deptford, and Greenwich, all along the banks of the Thames, so here they have already the large town of Alleghanny, on the banks of the river of that name, with its manufactories of cotton, and 12,000 inhabitants; Birmingham, on the opposite banks of the Monongahela, with its forges, furnaces, and glass-houses, and 8,000 inhabitants; and Manchester, two miles down on the Ohio, with its various mills and works, and its population of 5,000 inhabitants; Lawrence-

ville, within two miles of Pittsburgh, on the Alleghany river, with its manufactories of cotton, iron, and the works of the arsenal, which stands in its centre; and many other smaller places, rapidly rising into importance; and all these may one day be blended into one large and continuous city, as London is at the present time.

With the exception of the small level plain on which the city of Pittsburgh stands, and a narrow strip of level land along the immediate banks of the rivers, the scenery is very bold and hilly, the eminences that overlook the town in every direction varying from 400 to 600 feet, and affording, therefore, fine prospects, pure air, and very eligible sites for country and summer residences. Both rivers are navigable for a great distance from Pittsburgh towards their sources, the Alleghanny for 180 miles, up to the State of New York, in which it rises; and the Monongahela for 200 miles, down to the State of Virginia in which it begins. Both are frozen over completely for three or four months in some winters, and for a shorter time in others, and subject to severe freshets when the ice breaks up. There are no less than three good bridges across the Alleghanny; and a bridge-aqueduct, forming the bed of a canal, about 35 to 40 feet above the level of the river; there is also one good bridge across the Monongahela, which, being the broadest and deepest of the two streams, is most frequented by the large steam-vessels coming up from the Ohio and Mississippi. The bridges are all of wood, built on substantial stone piers, and resting with flat platforms on beams from pier to pier, without arches; they

are all closed in, to protect them from the weather, and very imperfectly lighted by small unglazed window frames at distant intervals. One of the Alleghanny bridges has, however, a great improvement, which is the construction of an open balcony or colonnade outside the covered way, so that while horses and carriages go under cover through the great wooden tunnel which the centre of the bridge forms, foot passengers can walk along in the open air in the external balconies, one being used for going over and the other for coming back, and each commanding a fine view up and down the stream, and of the surrounding scenery.

The plan of the city is laid out with sufficient regularity, without being exactly symmetrical, like Philadelphia. It has one long street running from the point at which the two rivers unite, where Fort Du Quesne originally stood, and corresponding to the position of the Battery, in New York. This street, called Liberty Street, runs up nearly in a straight line from this point to the base of the hills, just as Broadway runs up from the Battery to the northern extremity of New York city, at Union Square. It is the broadest street in the city, being 80 feet in width, which is about the breadth of Broadway; but here the comparison ends, for while Broadway is full of elegant stores, bustling with carriages, drays, omnibuses, and horses, and its side pavements crowded with elegantly dressed ladies and well-dressed gentlemen, Liberty Street is dull and dirty, and without a single element of elegance or beauty, either in the things or persons seen in it, from one end to the other. Along the right bank

of the Monongahela, is the Levée, as it is called at New Orleans, but here called Water Street, and this is decidedly the cleanest and pleasantest part of the town. A good brick pavement extends along its whole front; there are many spacious and commodious stores, and some good private dwellings there. All the large steamers from the South and West, lie obliquely here along the river's bank, the prows of each being presented to the shore, and the sterns projecting into the stream, which, by its current, carries them downward, and gives them an oblique position, while each vessel preserves its separate access to the shore. The scene along this Levée is very animating and agreeable.

From Water Street there lead up several avenues, as Ferry, Wood, Market, and Smithfield Streets, and these all terminate in Liberty Street; while another enumeration, going backward from the river's edge, is made of parallel streets, as Front, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Streets; so that, as at Philadelphia, nothing is more easy than for a stranger to learn the position in which he is, by the names and relative distances from certain given points. The streets vary in width from 40 to 60 feet; they are, therefore, narrower than in most American cities, badly paved, and insufferably dirty. And then there are numerous lanes and alleys, from 10 to 20 feet only in width, which are dirtier still, though called by such names as King's Alley, Virgin Alley, Diamond Alley, and Gay Alley; while the Rose, the Vine, the Walnut, the Chesnut, and the Strawberry, have each their alleys, though filthier places it is impossible to conceive. Near the centre

of the city is a square, but, in their love of fine names, this is called "The Diamond." It is used as a public market, and is the least pure and brilliant diamond that has ever yet borne the name; for even the black diamond has lustre, purity, and cleanliness about it, all of which are wanting here.

Of the public buildings of Pittsburgh, by far the largest, handsomest, and best, is the New Court House, now nearly completed. This is, indeed, a noble edifice, and for advantageous position, correct taste, and harmony in all its proportions, is equal to any of the public buildings in the country. It stands on a fine eminence, in the eastern quarter of the city, commanding a view of the three rivers, and forms a fine object in the general picture. It is of the Grecian Doric order, with a massive double portico in front, of two rows of fluted pillars, six in each row, and each six feet in diameter, bold entablature and pediment, and graceful dome. It is built of finely polished argillaceous sandstone, of a yellowish grey colour, and consists of three stories. The basement is vaulted, with grooved arches, and made fire-proof, being intended for the offices and public records, having ten rooms, each 32 by 25 feet. The principal story has a central rotunda, 60 feet in diameter, and 80 feet in height, from which lead out four court-rooms, each 45 feet square, with two jury-rooms of smaller dimensions. The principal front is 165 feet in length, the breadth of the building about 100 feet, and the whole height 148 feet, to the top of the lantern surmounting the dome; the dome itself being 37 feet at its base, supported internally by 7 Corinthian columns, and the whole com-

bining strength, simplicity, lightness, and grace, in an unusually agreeable manner. The entire building covers an area of 17,000 feet, and is estimated to cost about 200,000 dollars, to be paid for out of the county funds. It is from the design, and is under the superintendence, of an English architect, John Chislett, Esq., a pupil of Mr. Harris, at Bath, in England, and whose other works in Pittsburgh, in several of the Banks, in Burke's Buildings, Philo-Hall, and others, are great ornaments to the town, and do honour to his talents.

Of churches, there are 76 in the city and its environs, for the services of the whole population of 60,000, being, therefore, about 1 church to every 780 persons of the inhabitants. They are thus divided and appropriated—

Presbyterian .	27	Episcopal . .	7	Catholic . .	2
Reformed ditto	12	Baptist . .	7	Unitarian . .	1
Methodist .	11	German . .	8	Universalist .	1

There is nothing peculiar in their architecture or internal arrangements requiring notice, except to say that they seem all to be well sustained, and amply provided with every requisite, and their ministers adequately supported by the voluntary system.

Among the literary institutions may be numbered, the Western University, with about 50 students, in Pittsburgh; the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, with about the same number, in Alleghanny; and a Theological Seminary of the Associate Reformed Church, with somewhat fewer pupils, the institution being more recent. There is also an Institute of Arts and Sciences; a Philological Society; the West Institute; and Literary Institute;

and several libraries and reading rooms. There are 20 select or private schools, for the education of the more wealthy classes, and 12 public schools, chiefly for boys, though according to the latest returns there are not more than 2,000 children in the whole, which is a much smaller proportion than is exhibited in the cities of similar size in the Northern States; but Pennsylvania is greatly in arrear of New York and New England in its provision for general education.

Of newspapers, there are 3 daily; the Advocate and Pittsburgher, morning, and the Gazette, an evening paper; the first and last being Whig, and the Pittsburgher, Democrat. There are besides these, 4 weekly political papers, 4 religious journals, 1 medical, and 1 German paper, called The Eagle of the West, but the circulation of none of them is very extensive. They are all conducted with more than the average order of talent, and have also less of the bitterness and vituperation of party-violence, than is too frequently exhibited through the political press.

Among the mercantile establishments there are 7 Banks, 5 Insurance Companies, a Board of Trade, a River Navigation Company, and several Canal and Transportation Companies. By means of two separate Associations, the city is admirably lighted with the best gas produced in America; and as well supplied with water as Philadelphia. The highly-bituminous coal of this region is favourable to the cheap production of the former; and the latter is furnished from the Alleghanny river, being raised by engines and pumps into a reservoir 120 feet above

the level of the town, the former being sufficient to raise about 3,000,000 of gallons in 24 hours, though the daily consumption of water is not greater than about 1,000,000 of gallons in summer, and half that quantity in winter. The annual expense to the houses, supplied with it by pipes, in an unlimited quantity, is not more than 3 dollars for private dwellings, and about 20 dollars for hotels and large public establishments. In consequence of this ample supply of water, fires are more speedily extinguished here than in cities not so amply supplied. There are 10 Fire and Hose Companies, manned by volunteers, as in most other cities ; but fires are not so frequent in Pittsburgh as in most other places of the same size, and when they do occur they are sooner put out. A very recent instance occurred during our stay here, of a most destructive fire at Louisville, Kentucky, on the Ohio river, where property to the extent of 1,500,000 dollars it is said has been destroyed, nearly the whole of which might have been prevented, had they possessed water-works similar to those at Pittsburgh ; but false notions of economy prevented their adoption of the plan, though proposed to them not long since, at a public meeting of the citizens there. Now they have lost so much by not adopting it, they will most probably incur the cost.

The Courts of Law held here include the Supreme Court and District Court of the United States, the State or District Court for the County of Alleghanny, and the Mayor's Court for the City. There is a County Jail, in which there are usually from 80 to 100 prisoners, of which about one-fourth are females,

and the last Report made by the jailor, states that at least eight-tenths of the whole number were brought to the commission of their crimes by intemperance! There is also a Penitentiary, in which about 150 persons are confined for different terms; these are all employed in such labours as can be made most productive, and the sale of the articles made defrays the expense of the establishment. The whole number in the Jail and Penitentiary average about 200 at a time, and this is out of a population of 100,000 for the County of Alleghanny, in which Pittsburgh is seated. This gives a proportion of one in every 500. The Report adds, as reasons for even this proportion, the following observations:— "Pittsburgh is the great centre of many converging routes, and all doubtful and immoral characters that come here from the several quarters of the north, south, east, and west, often remain here for many days; besides which, many who are discharged from the Penitentiary, without means of subsistence, soon find their way back to prison again, through the commission of fresh crimes, to which their very destitution drives them; while the want of honest employment by many other previously good characters, leads first to idleness, then to intemperance, and then to crime."

It is in its manufacturing establishments, however, that Pittsburgh is most distinguished from the other cities of America. The abundance and cheapness of coal and iron, within a short distance of the city, the facilities of water-carriage which it enjoys from Lake Erie to New Orleans, and from the shores of the Atlantic to the Far West, marks it out as the

centre of a great manufacturing district, from whence the whole Union may be advantageously supplied with its productions. Among these are 12 iron-founderies for casting, and 8 establishments for manufacturing iron; 12 steam-engine builders, 5 iron manufactories of saws, files, axes, and agricultural implements; 10 white-lead manufactories, 8 glass-works, 6 rolling-mills, 8 cotton-factories, 2 steam flour-mills, 1 gunpowder mill, and several other manufacturing establishments on a smaller scale—the whole, however, producing about 20,000,000 of dollars in value annually.

The coal-trade of Pittsburgh is estimated to amount to 15,000,000 of bushels annually; of which about 7,000,000 are used in the several steam-factories, furnaces, and glass-works; 5,000,000 in dwelling-houses and stores; and 3,000,000 exported and used in steam-boats navigating the Western waters. The average price is taken at 5 cents, or $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ a bushel, making a total value of 750,000 dollars.

There are now upwards of 100 steam-boats belonging to Pittsburgh alone, and every year great numbers are built here for the ports below. The average number of arrivals and departures exceed 6 each way daily, and the average arrivals throughout the steam-boat season of the year, when the rivers are not frozen, amount to about 1,000. The Pittsburgh boats average about 120 tons in measurement, and 20,000 dollars each in value. But the boats built for ports lower down are much larger, and range in value from 50,000 to 80,000 dollars each. It may be mentioned, as a remarkable contrast to the present state of things, that the

King of the French, Louis Philippe, when here as an exile, during the French Revolution, left the house of General Pressly Neville, of this city, Pittsburgh, (the house still standing within a few doors of where we lived,) with only two attendants, to go down the Ohio, in a common flat, not worth 50 dollars, this being almost the only conveyance then known here at that time. Soon after this, a few ships were built here, before steam had been applied to navigation, and one of them was freighted with Western produce, and sailed for Europe. She was seized, however, as a smuggler, for no such port as "Pittsburgh" was known to the custom-house authorities in England. But the captain fortunately possessing a map of the United States, exhibited this, and tracing the Mississippi upwards, from its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico, to its point of junction with the Ohio, and this last stream again up to the junction of the Alleghanny and Monongahela, he showed the position of Pittsburgh, as a place accessible from the sea, and thus saved his ship from confiscation.

A similar change has taken place in the improvement of land-transportation to and from this city. There are persons now living here, with some of whom I conversed, who remember well when the usual mode of transport for goods was on the backs of pack-horses; and it is said, that even 30 years ago, no waggons were known here. At length they were introduced, but for some time in such small numbers, that one a week from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh was the average arrival. They then took from 30 to 40 days for the journey, and the rate of freight was 12½ cents per lb. At present, the heaviest

goods arrive by the canal in 8 days, at the rate of 1½ cent per lb., and the traffic is every year increasing. In the winter, when the ground is covered with snow, and the canals and rivers are all frozen up, as many as a hundred sleighs arrive and depart daily, laden with goods, which are first collected here, as in a central depôt, from the large cities of the Atlantic coast, and then are scattered around in various directions to the smaller towns and villages of the South and West.

There is one great drawback, however, to a residence at Pittsburgh, which is the unavoidable accumulation of soot and dirt upon everything you see or touch. Sheffield, in England, is sometimes called "The City of Soot," but its atmosphere is clear and transparent in comparison with that of Pittsburgh, which is certainly the most smoky and sooty town it has ever yet been my lot to behold. The houses are blackened with it, the streets are made filthy, and the garments and persons of all whom you meet are soiled and made dingy by its influence. Clean faces are objects of rare occurrence, and clean hands still more so; and it is said that strangers generally look dirtier than natives, for this reason, that the natives, knowing how everything is covered with coal, dust, and soot, refrain from touching anything beyond what is indispensable, and never pass their hands over any part of their faces; whereas strangers handle freely whatever falls in their way, place their hands on the tables, chairs, bannisters of the stairs, and whatever else they are accustomed to touch or hold by, and often unconsciously raise their hands to

their faces, by which they are often so smeared as to attract the attention of others, without being aware of the cause till they see themselves in a mirror. The coal is so much more bituminous, and gives out so much greater a quantity of thick black smoke than any other coal that is known, that on some foggy days the city is literally veiled by a dark cloud, and rendered wholly invisible from the adjoining hills. We heard here that a clergyman from Philadelphia, having visited Pittsburgh on such a day as this, said the only thing to which he could compare the city, was to the description given in the Scriptures of the appearance of the plain of Sodom and Gomorrah, on the day after the destruction of those cities by fire, when "the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace."

Nevertheless, there are some very beautiful views in the neighbourhood of Pittsburgh; and if a bright clear day, with a strong westerly wind, and an early hour in the morning, be chosen, even the town itself makes a fine object in the picture. One of the most striking of these views is to be obtained from the summit of the lofty eminence in the rear of the town, called Prospect Hill, on which many of the more opulent families of Pittsburgh reside. From this point, an extensive and beautiful view up the river Alleghanny is obtained, which, with its high hills on either side, and small low islands in the centre of the stream, is not inferior to the view of the Thames from Richmond Hill. On the opposite shore is seen the town of Alleghanny, spread over a fine plain, with rising ground behind it; this place serving, like Brooklyn to New York, as an agreeable retreat

for men of business, whose families reside here, to avoid the smoke and noise of Pittsburgh; and the four bridges across the stream, including the aqueduct for the canal, with small stern-wheel steamers plying up and down the river, make a highly interesting picture. To the south, and over the city, is seen the surface of the Monongahela, and its lofty hills beyond; while the broader and more beautiful Ohio extends south-westward, between hills on either side, into the distance. The city of Pittsburgh is seen at your feet, at a depth of about 400 feet from where you stand, spread out like a map; its great thoroughfare, Liberty Street, being open and visible throughout its entire length; and the New Court House, large Catholic Church, Episcopal Gothic edifice, and other public buildings, all being seen to advantage.

But a still more extensive and beautiful view than this is to be obtained by crossing over the Monongahela by the bridge, ascending up from thence to the summit of the opposite hill, which is about 500 feet above the stream; and in a walk of about a mile, along the topmost ridge of this hill, a succession of rich and exquisite views amply rewards the visitor. All the objects seen from Prospect Hill are here distinguished more clearly; while the increased elevation throws the visible horizon to so much greater a distance, that it embraces a large number of additional objects not visible from thence at all. There are some points in this walk from whence the picture is more beautiful than anything we had before seen, either on the Hudson, at Portland, or at Harper's Ferry. Indeed, if such a city as Edinburgh, or

Dublin, Bath, or Cheltenham, occupied the tongue of land on which Pittsburgh stands, with the beautiful Ohio, the romantic Alleghanny, and the winding Monongahela, mingling their waters at its feet, it would be accounted one of the most beautiful sights in the world. As it is, with all the smoke and blackness of the city, the surrounding objects are so lovely, that it is impossible not to be filled with admiration at beholding them.

The municipal government of Pittsburgh embraces a greater number of officers than usual, and assimilates it very much to our old corporations in England; where the object seemed to be to increase the number of offices to the utmost possible extent, for the purpose of providing snug places for personal friends and political adherents. Besides the mayor, and 22 executive officers, in the shape of Treasurer, Wharf-Master, Gauge-Master, weighers, inspectors, assessors, &c. there is a Select Council of 12 members, and a Common Council of 20 members, as legislative bodies, all elected by the people; independently of the several officers connected with the legal, sanitary, and police departments appointed by the Mayor, amounting to 26 more; such as the City Solicitor, Vaccine Physician, High-Constable, Captain, and Lieutenant of the Watch, Assessor of the Dog-tax, constables of the city, &c. There are no less than 14 standing committees—on finance, on water, on the canal, on streets, on markets, on gas, on fires, on wooden buildings, on health, on police, &c. &c.—to which all matters relating to the several departments are referred; so that the machinery is very extensive, and disproportionately large to the size

and population of the place. It is said, however, by those who reside here, to work well, and to ensure a prompt attention to all the duties that require to be discharged.

The Southern and Western newspapers are all found in the hotels and reading-rooms here; and to a stranger, bound in that direction, their contents are far from inviting. It is impossible to take up any one of them without finding in it the record of some deed of blood or violence—some destruction of life or property—which might well make a cautious man hesitate before he ventured among so reckless a people as the inhabitants of these regions seem to be. The following short paragraphs are all taken from a single paper, and exhibit a most discouraging picture.

"MISSISSIPPI FASHIONS.—The Louisville Journal says: A letter from a friend at Vicksburg, dated on the 9th instant, says: 'A duel came off this morning, opposite Vicksburg, between Mr. J. A. Richardson and Mr. W. Murray, both of this city. A horse-whipping, bestowed by the former gentleman upon the latter, occasioned the meeting. A shot was exchanged without effect, when the affair was *suspended*. A large number of the citizens were on the ground.'"

"HOTEL-KEEPERS.—The New Orleans True American of the 11th says: 'Last evening, about 6 o'clock, Capt. St. Clair was stabbed to death by a Mr. Reilly, the keeper of the Commercial Hotel, on the corner of Girod and Levée Streets. Reilly attacked St. Clair with a bowie-knife, and inflicted upon him some five or six wounds. He died almost immediately.'"

"A DUEL.—Mr. Carmack, one of the editors of the True American, and Mr. Harry, brother to Harry of the New Orleans Academy, fought a duel lately, in which the former was shot through the body, and the latter in one of his hands. We have not learned that either is dangerous."

"ATTEMPT TO MURDER AN EDITOR.—An attempt was lately made to murder William G. Brownlow, Esq. a clergyman of the Methodist church, and the editor of the Elizabethtown (Tennessee) Whig. While he was sitting at his fireside, writing, a gun was fired at him through the window, and one of the two balls with which it was loaded passed within a few inches of his breast. He pursued the ruffian with a pistol, and fired at him just as he was about to mount the fence, but the fellow escaped."

"ARKANSAS IMPROVEMENT.—In the Circuit Court at Little Rock, two of the most distinguished members of the bar of Arkansas gave flattering evidence that the tide of morals was no longer dammed up by the opposition of justice. They commenced a war of words, and the lie was repeatedly given, leaden inkstands thrown from one to the other, until not only the records, but the by-standers, were completely bespattered with ink and blood."

"A FLATTERING PICTURE.—A correspondent of the New Haven Record writes from Washington as follows: 'In respect to religion and social morals, this city has long been in a condition most painful to the American Christian. Pennsylvania Avenue is crowded with grog-shops, lottery-offices, and gambling-houses. There are a large number of free negroes in the city, and they constitute a portion of the population of which the citizens make abundant complaint. As many as a thousand of them, in the opinion of the Mayor, obtain a living by petty thefts. The city is in debt to the amount of 860,000 dollars.'"

"INCENDIARISM AT NATCHEZ.—We learn from the Free Trader of the 9th, that three more attempts have been made to fire the city; two of them in the brick stables belonging to Mr. Watt, on Commerce-street, and a third in the office of Montgomery and Boyd. They were all fortunately extinguished before very material injury had been effected. The whole city was in alarm. The streets are paraded by bands of firemen; the military armories are lighted up at night, and patrols traverse the streets. A meeting of the citizens was held on the 10th, at which the President and Secretary were directed to offer a reward of 2,000 dollars for the detection of any of the miscreants engaged in these atrocious attempts."

In the same column is a long narrative of a murder, the details of which are too revolting for publication; but it is sufficient to give the introduction—

"MOST AWFUL AND HORRID MURDERS.—The following account of a deed of blood, unparalleled in American history, we copy from the Frankfort Commonwealth, of Kentucky:—'A letter from a gentleman in Greensburg, to a citizen of this place, of the date of March the 8th, states, that there has just been disclosed and brought to light one of the most shocking murders ever committed in a Christian land."*

* It will be observed that all these crimes are committed in the Slave-States; and to the influence of slavery on the minds of the slave-owners may be clearly traced the ferocity by which their duels especially are characterized. As examples of this, which have come to my knowledge since these pages were first written, I transcribe the two following; the first from the "North Carolina Standard," of August 30, 1837, the second from the "Darien Telegraph," both published in Slave-States.

ARTICLES OF BATTLE BETWEEN ALEXANDER K. M'CLUNG AND H. C. STEWART, ESQS. COUNSELLORS AT LAW, OF THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI.

Article 1. The parties shall meet opposite Vicksburg, in the State of Louisiana, on Thursday, the 29th instant, precisely at 4 o'clock, P.M.—Agreed to.

2. The weapons to be used by each shall weigh one pound two and a half ounces, measuring sixteen inches and a half in length, including the handle, and one inch and three-eighths in breadth.—Agreed to.

3. Both knives shall be sharp on one edge, and on the back shall be sharp only one inch at the point.—Agreed to.

4. Each party shall stand at the distance of eight feet from each other, until the word is given.—Agreed to.

5. The second of each party shall throw up, with a silver dollar, on the ground, for the word, and two best out of three shall win the word.—Agreed to.

6. After the word is given, either party may take what advantage he can with his knife, but on throwing his knife at the other, shall be shot down by the second of his opponent.—Agreed to.

7. Each party shall be stripped entirely naked, except one pair of linen pantaloons, one pair of socks and boots or pumps, as the party please.—Acceded to.

8. The wrist of the left arm of each party shall be tied tight to his left thigh, and a strong cord shall be fastened around his left arm at the elbow, and then around his body.—Rejected.

9. After the word is given, each party shall be allowed to advance or recede, as he pleases, over the space of twenty acres of ground, until death ensues to one of the parties.—Agreed to. The parties to be placed in the centre of the space.

10. The word shall be given by the winner of the same in the following manner, viz "Gentlemen, are you ready?" Each party shall then answer, "I am." The second giving the word, shall then distinctly command, "*Strike.*"—Agreed to.

If either party shall violate these rules, upon being notified by the second of either party, he may be liable to be shot down instantly. As established usage points out the duties of both parties, therefore notification is considered unnecessary.

ARTICLES OF BATTLE BETWEEN JOHN A. WILLEY, ESQ. MAGISTRATE, AND COL. W. WHIG HAZARD, OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA.

Condition 1. The parties to fight on the same day, and at the same place (St. Simon's Beach, near the Lighthouse), where the meeting between T. F. Hazard and J. A. Willey will take place.

2. The parties to fight with broadsword in the right hand, and a dirk in the left.

3. On the word "Charge," the parties to advance, and attack with the broadsword, or close with the dirk.

4. The head of the vanquished to be cut off by the victor, and stuck upon a pole on the Farm Field Dam, the original cause of dispute.

5. Neither party to object to the other's weapons; and if a sword breaks, the contest to continue with a dirk.

It would appear, however, that the South and West are not the only quarters in which crime and violence are on the increase, if the following statements, taken from a Pennsylvanian paper, "The Fredericktown Visitor," of March, be correct.

"Disproportion of Crime.—From a comparison drawn from statistical tables, it appears that the amount of murders, smothering, suicides, poisonings, &c. in New York, greatly exceed those of London, during the last year. Seventeen murders are charged to New York, and only one to London; fourteen poisonings, and only six in London, &c. This fearful exhibition is to be attributed mainfully to that *unmerciful lenity*, which lets the guilty escape, and exposes the innocent and helpless to their continued depredations."

"Excellent State of Public Morals.—The New York Herald states that murders have averaged one every week in that city for the last ten months."

These are, indeed, fearful signs of the times, and gloomy prognostics of the future. At the same time that public morals are thus degraded, all respect for authority appears every day lessening; and neither the President, the Congress, the State Governors, or State Legislatures, seem to inspire any party with veneration or esteem. Even the judges enjoy but little confidence out of the pale of their own party; and the elements of discord and dissatisfaction seem to multiply and strengthen every year. As a specimen of the manner in which the State legislatures are spoken of by the public press, the following extract of an editorial article from the "Pittsburgh Constitutionalist," a Democratic paper, published during our stay here, may be given.

"In the middle of all this legislation, and by way of saving trouble in future, we would advise that the doors of our halls of

legislation be firmly locked, barred, and bolted, the windows nailed down, Porter [the elected governor of the State, chosen by the Democrats] in the chair, *every* member in the house, and just let the river Susquehanna make a run through it for twelve hours—it is the only way positively to purify the body. Lay them helpless under water, and let us hear no more of them. If we cannot govern ourselves better, we will send for a tribe of Kikapoo Indians. We have no doubt the latter would be the most honest, and quite as intelligent, as the men who have disgraced the State in the present assembly. To get anything worse would be impossible. This winter will be famous in the annals of republicanism, for the most abandoned, dishonest, and reckless legislation. Europeans will be informed of it as fast as wind and steam can carry the news. The total incapability for self-government exhibited in our halls of legislation will do more to damn republicanism in the estimation of mankind than anything which ever happened. It must be apparent to every rational being, that such a system is not worthy of being continued; it would be nearly impossible to change for the worse."

Yet these are the legislators of the people's free choice; for the suffrage is universal, the vote is by ballot, and the elections are annual. And it is not only of the State Legislatures that such language is held—the General Congress at Washington fares no better at the hands of its assailants; and by far the largest numerical majority of the nation speak only with contempt and scorn of the rulers which they themselves have chosen, and of the measures they produce. And yet, from all that I can see of the population, I believe that were General Harrison and a Whig cabinet to replace Mr. Van Buren and his cabinet to-morrow, the same extent of opposition would be manifested, and the same amount of contumely and denunciation be poured forth against them; though, of course, from the tongues and pens

of the adherents of the present party, who would then be displaced.*

I am far from thinking, however, that this is the necessary consequence of a republican form of government; because we have seen equal recklessness and violence in France, Spain, and Portugal, under monarchical power; and in these it vents itself in civil war and massacre, in large masses—so that much more blood has been shed in resistance to absolute power, than can ever happen in these wars of words between republican malcontents. The evil—for evil it undoubtedly is—of want of confidence in, and respect for, the ruling authorities, so general in America, springs from a combination of causes, which would be likely to produce the same effects under a monarchy as under a republic. Among these causes, the following are perhaps some of the most prominent:

1. A relaxation of parental authority, by which young boys are allowed, without check or restraint, to give loose to their unbridled passions, before their reason is matured; so that they are without the guidance of rational judgment or parental supervision, and are therefore the sport of every gust of passion.

2. The too early stage of pecuniary independence at which the young men arrive, which inflates them with false ideas of their consequence and importance; without their being subjected to the discipline of being obliged to labour mentally, as well as physically, for eminence in station.

* This has since taken place, and the opposition of the Democrats to the Whig Administration has been quite as bitter as that of the Whigs to the Democratic rule. Such is the history of political parties everywhere.

3. The entire absence of all the softening influence of female character on their political views and agitations; women in this country seeming neither to know nor care anything about public affairs, and never being present, to awe or subdue the violence of party-feeling into respectful decorum, at any of their public meetings.

4. The too free use of tobacco and spirituous stimulants, which iritate the nervous sensibilities, and make men hot and irascible, who, under a cooler and purer regimen, would be calm and collected.

5. The impatience to be rich, from a belief that public estimation will be secured by this; the consequent recklessness of speculation;—anxieties if successful, and morbid peevishness if unfortunate—all of which impair health, and increase fretfulness of temper.

6. And lastly, in the Southern States especially, the constant influence of the slave system, which trains the young mind to tyrannize over all who oppose the gratification of its will, and induces it to persecute with unrelenting severity all who successfully resist its encroachments or dictation.

These appear to me among the most powerful of the causes that operate to produce the political violence so characteristic of American society; and whether it were an hereditary monarch and hereditary nobility that ruled them, or a president and a freely-chosen senate and house of representatives, I do not think there would be much difference in the developement of these feelings. As it is, however, the evil is very great, and will require, for its cure, a much more powerful influence to be exercised by

instruction, training, discipline, reason, benevolence, and justice, than there seems any probability of bringing into action for some time to come.

Happily there are a few public writers, who perceive the evil, and lament its developement in the shape of party-spirit, and who have the virtue and the courage to expose and denounce it, though their labours are not generally sustained by the feelings of the community. The following is a paragraph in point, originally from the "Philadelphia Public Ledger," as portion of a long article, but repeated and commended by "The Saturday Evening Visitor" of Pittsburgh.

"It is lamentable to think that in this country no place can be kept free from the slime of partisan politics. The halls of legislation—the seats of justice—even the temples of religion, are defiled by it. Its noisome influences infect the wholesome air, and generate all manner of social poisons. Friendship, kindred, mutual regard—the best charities of life—the sweetest sympathies of intercourse—all give way beneath them; and distrust, doubt, envy, malice, and all uncharitableness, are substituted for the better affections.

"Shall this state of things always continue? Shall we always submit to these evils? Shall we continue to cherish the viper that is gnawing at the vitality of our institutions, and voluntarily waste the strength, and destroy the beauty of our system? If this feeling of partisanship is cultivated and encouraged—if to this spirit of faction all other things are sacrificed—if our thoughts and acts, our words and works, are to be regulated and governed by this, what shall we be better than serfs and slaves? The tyranny of a party is no better than the tyranny of any other ruler; and it matters not whether our obeisance is rendered to one or to many, still it is degrading submission."

In connection with this subject, it may be proper to show how this violence is exhibited in the Halls of Legislation, by giving the record of a scene

occurring in the Pennsylvania Legislature during our stay here, of which the following is a version published in the Harrisburgh papers on both sides, and therefore free from all suspicion as to its accuracy :—

"On Saturday, in the House of Representatives, the proposition to sell the Delaware Division of the Pennsylvania Canal being under consideration, a motion was made by Mr. Hegins, of Northumberland, to substitute a proposition for the sale of all the improvements of the State. Mr. M'Elwee arose in his place, and made some violent remarks in opposition to this motion, censuring Mr. Hegins strongly for endeavouring (as he alleged) to defeat the original proposition—calling him meddlesome, &c. As he took his seat, we heard him distinctly muttering "d—d rascal," and other equally unbecoming terms, looking towards Mr. H.—Mr. Hegins then said that the member from Bedford need not have let off so much steam—it isn't drinking-time yet, (looking at the clock.) Mr. M'Elwee, not distinctly hearing this, called out, "What does that hobgoblin say?" whereupon Mr. Hegins repeated his remark coolly and firmly. Mr. M'Elwee then muttered something, the purport of which was, as nearly as we could gather it, that Mr. Hegins "could'nt buy a drink;" that he "had no money but what he got from the banks." To this Mr. Hegins made no reply; and Mr. M'Elwee shortly after put on his hat, and looking fiercely toward the member for Northumberland, left the hall.

"Similar conduct on the part of Mr. M'Elwee not being at all unusual, as he is frequently mad with liquor while in the House, it was not noticed particularly. No call to order was made, and Mr. Hegins finished his remarks on the merits of the bill, without saying anything disrespectful of the member from Bedford, even extolling some of his "good qualities;" and other members proceeded to address the House.

"Mr. Hegins then said that the member from Bedford had come to his seat, and insulted him. 'He said, (Mr. H. continued) that I was a d—d puppy. I told him, if he said so, he was a d—d scoundrel. Then he spit on me, and I struck him; and he had'nt the courage to offer resistance. He's as mean as —.'

"We could not hear the rest of the sentence, but it was somewhat caustic.

"Mr. M'Elwee then said, that the statement was true in the main; but he denied that he offered the member from Northumberland any violence, except to say that his assertions could only be made by a puppy. 'I only told him that what he stated was untrue.'

"Mr. Penniman, of Philadelphia, then moved that a committee of three be appointed to investigate the facts connected with the occurrence, and report to the House. Mr. P. said that it was due to the dignity of the Commonwealth and the members of the House, that this disgraceful matter should be noticed. He said he knew not who was in the fault; but that a scene of violence and outrage had taken place, no one could deny.—This hall, said he, is intended for deliberation, and not to be made an arena for gladiators. He said he felt too much excited and too indignant to say more.

"Mr. M'Elwee said he thought the motion ought not to prevail.

"Mr. Crabb said the motion ought to prevail. He said he was standing near the fire-place—he first heard the member from Bedford call the member from Northumberland a d—d scoundrel, or a d—d puppy; and then he (Mr. M'Elwee) spit in the face of the other, (Mr. Hegins) which was one of the grossest of all outrages.

"The motion was carried by acclamation, when Mr. M'Elwee called the ayes and nays.

"Mr. Snowden said that he hoped the motion would prevail. The transaction merits investigation.—These halls are for the purposes of legislation. It is expected that gentlemen will conform to the rules of the House; and when the dignity of the House is insulted, it is the duty of the members to inquire into the facts, and spread them on the journals before the people.

"Mr. Butler moved to postpone the whole matter till Monday. He thought the members too much excited to act on it at present.

"Mr. Smith desired the immediate consideration of the subject, and the adoption of the resolution.

"Mr. Broadhead hoped there would be no postponement. He

was capable of acting calmly and deliberately. These scenes, he said, have become too frequent. This is not the first time an outrage has been committed in this Hall. We owe it to ourselves and the people we represent, not to suffer acts of personal violence, come from what quarter they may. He believed the House ought to take action, and put on record the facts. He thought it necessary to take a course that would set a precedent and example, that those who come after may restrain their hands.

"Mr. M'Elwee briefly addressed the House in favour of the postponement. He said he offered no violence. But is the House to go on now? Let *us* postpone this matter—[cries of NO! NO! from every part of the hall.] Then go on if you dare! prosecute me! [Here the speaker called to order.] I have no one to stand by me, it seems, said the member from Bedford—well, I've stood by others to the amount of millions, but there is none to help me out of an unjust accusation. But I see the members don't know what they are about—I might say with Him on the cross, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!'"

This last sentence, from the mouth of a drunken man, seems the extreme of profanation; but drunkenness and the affectation of piety are often seen in disgusting alliance. It ought, in fairness, however, to be stated that we have not been altogether without such scenes as this, not quite so gross and vulgar, but still most disgraceful, in the British House of Commons. Happily they are not of very frequent occurrence, but they happen, nevertheless, too often for the character of that assembly. One such scene will perhaps be remembered by many, occurring in the year 1835 or 1836, when Mr. Kearsley, a brewer, then member for Wigan, and one of the high Tory or Conservative party, being in a state of intoxication, insulted Mr. Hume; and when called on by the Speaker to retract his offensive expressions, or apolo-

gize—heightened the insult by repeating it with aggravated invective. Among the indignant cries of "hear, hear," proceeding from the Whig benches, as the Speaker called the drunken member to order for his conduct, the shrill voice of Mr. Paul Methuen, then member for Wiltshire, was heard above all the rest; when, a profound pause ensuing, Mr. Kearsley rose, remained silent for several moments, and then taking his eye-glass from his bosom, and eyeing Mr. Methuen, who sat on the opposite side, with great contempt and scorn, he also, like the drunken M'Elwee, quoted Scripture, to show his reading and his piety, exclaiming, as he looked towards Mr. Methuen, "Paul! Paul! why persecutest *thou* me?"*

Mr. Kearsley soon after quitted the House, in a mode and attitude that bade it and its authority defiance, and no further notice was taken of the matter. But Mr. M'Elwee is not likely to escape so easily, as a committee was appointed by the House to inquire and report upon his conduct, and the probability is that he will be expelled. It is high time that drunkenness should be classed among the crimes against society, and punished as such, in penalties and degradations, applied to the higher as well as to the lower classes of society. But so long as poor men are fined five shillings for being drunk, and sent to prison in default of payment, while, at the same time, legislators and persons in high life are suffered to become intoxicated with impunity, such scenes must occasionally occur. It would be a good

* The recent exhibitions of Mr. Bussfield Ferrand have not much improved the character of the House since then.

law that should make expulsion from any legislative assembly the penalty for every clearly established case of intoxication seen in its members; and as officers are tried by court martial, and dismissed for drunkenness, in the navy and army, still stronger reasons may be urged for a similar course being pursued in legislative bodies. One prompt and impartial example of this kind would produce a more salutary effect than many homilies, and it would be a high honour to Great Britain to be the first to offer it to the world.

It being my usual habit to write up my journal from day to day, so as not to suffer it to fall into arrear, it happened that I had concluded the preceding paragraph on the evening of the 9th of April, and on the morning of the 10th the Harrisburgh papers brought intelligence of the expulsion of Mr. M'Elwee from the House of Representatives in the Pennsylvania legislature, by a large majority, an example which can hardly fail to be beneficial.*

The neighbourhood of Pittsburgh is accounted one of the most healthy parts of the United States, and inflammatory diseases are extremely rare. The absence of wet lands and swamps, the fine undulation of surface in the hills, and its excellent air and water, are all, no doubt, favourable to health and longevity, and several remarkable instances of vigorous old age were mentioned to me; one of a Presbyterian minister, who had been 50 years presiding over the

* Mr. Kearsley was treated with much more indulgence by the British House of Commons; for though his drunkenness and contempt of the authority of the House was quite as great as that of M'Elwee, he was neither expelled, nor even called to the bar to be reprimanded.

same congregation; and another of a country farmer, who hunted at 96, and could ride 30 or 40 miles a day without fatigue. Intemperance did not appear to me to be so prevalent here as in many of the larger cities at the East; or if existing to the same extent, it is certainly not so visible.

I had omitted to mention among the journals of Pittsburgh a monthly periodical, of which I saw only a few numbers during the last day of our stay here; it is called "The Pittsburgh Examiner," and appears to be conducted with good taste, good feeling, and great ability; being in all these respects, I think, quite equal to any of the more popular periodicals on the other side of the Alleghannies. I was struck with a frank confession in one of its articles, expressed in these terms:—"If national pride be a sin, we confess ourselves obnoxious to the charge, and we can only plead our national greatness in justification." (No. for June, 1839, p. 97.) It was a remarkable corroboration of the extensive prevalence of this "sin" of national pride—(of which, however, the Americans will not endure to be accused by others without becoming quite angry at the imputation)—that the very next publication which fell into my hands, in the same bookstore in which I had seen the "Pittsburgh Examiner," contained a still stronger passage, couched in these words:—

"We are the most wonderful and the most interesting people on the face of the earth. We are so, because we are a mighty nation, coming up to the formation of its own laws and habits, irrespective of any ancient codes, and through the direction of enlightened reason."

This is from "The New York Temperance

Union" for the month of April, 1840, at page 58; a publication of the highest merit and greatest practical utility, but, not being infallible, subject to occasional weaknesses; of which this, at least, is an example. To its honour, however, be it mentioned, that in the same number of its paper it holds the mirror up to the city of New York, in which it is published, to show what share she has in "the formation of its own laws and its own habits, irrespective of any ancient codes, and through the direction of enlightened reason." This is done in the following table, contrasting the deaths and crimes of London, with nearly 2,000,000 of inhabitants, with those of New York, having 300,000, or about one-seventh of the number, yet greatly exceeding it in iniquity.

IN LONDON.	NEW YORK.	IN LONDON.	NEW YORK.
Deaths 16,685	7,953	Accidents - 171	83
Murders - 1	17	Suicides - 29	45
Poisoned - 6	14	Found dead - 12	179
Smothered 0	28	Still-born - 432	591
Drowned - 76	86	Died drunk 13	33
Burnt - 0	53	For every grog-shop in London, there are five in New York!	

This statement is given, in a tabular form, in the excellent Journal named, and its accuracy may, I think, be fully relied on. It is given as the result of a comparison made between the statistics of the two cities of London and New York for the year 1839, and it certainly affords melancholy proof, that even among "the most wonderful and most interesting people in the world," there are some things in which it would become them, as "a mighty nation," forming their

own habits "under the direction of enlightened reason," to be a little more under the guidance of "ancient codes" than they profess to be; and especially that most ancient of all codes, which says, "Thou shalt not kill," as many violations of which are occasioned by the quintuple proportion of grog-shops in the capital of "The Empire State," as in all the other modes of poisoning, smothering, and self-murder combined!

This statement is not given in an invidious or nationally hostile spirit; but rather to hold the mirror up to those who cannot too frequently be reminded of the blemishes that still deface their otherwise great and rising country. We have evils enough at home requiring correction, to prevent us from considering ourselves immaculate, and boasting of our superiority, as if we were immaculate. But while such statistics of crime as these are given by the journals of the United States, in the same page in which the editors eulogize their countrymen as being "the most wonderful and interesting nation on the face of the earth," justice and truth demand that the assertion should not go forth to the world without the comment which these statistics supply.

CHAP. IX.

Visit to Mr. Rapp's co-operative settlement of Economy—History of this community—Purchase of New Harmony by Mr. Owen, of Lanark—Alleged causes of the failure of that settlement—Final establishment of Mr. Rapp at Economy—Separation of a portion, under Count Leon—Description of the present settlement—Qualifications and conditions of membership—Patriarchal principle of government observed—Classification of the members for labour and duty—Union in families—Recommendation of celibacy—Property held in common—Unlimited supplies—Hours of labour—Dress—Freedom from anxiety—Deficiency in the system—Education, and the fine arts—Excellent museum of natural history and curiosities—Description of a Sabbath passed at the settlement—Morning religious service—Evening musical party—Examination of the museum—Social hall for celebration of annual festivals—Evening visit to Mr. Rapp and his family—Delightful family music—Picture of practical happiness in this establishment—Inspection of the silk, woollen, and cotton factories—Co-operation and competition—Probable spread of these communities.

On the afternoon of Saturday, the 11th of April, we left Pittsburgh, in the steamer Fallston, for Economy, the settlement of the Rappites, as they are here called, with the intention of passing a Sabbath among them, and then pursuing our way to the westward. The day was cloudy and threatening, with occasional showers, and strong gusts of wind, but the temperature was agreeable. We embarked at three o'clock, and in an hour and half after starting, we reached our place of destination, the distance being 18 miles, and the fare 1 dollar each. The

scenery of the river was interesting throughout all the way, and in some parts really beautiful. The view on leaving Pittsburgh, when first launching on the bosom of the Ohio, and looking back on the two streams, which, after washing the opposite sides of the town, mingle their waters to form "La Belle Riviere," as the French called the Ohio—this being said to be the literal translation of the Indian name—was very striking and picturesque; and the banks of the latter stream, all the way down, presented constantly succeeding patches of great beauty.

Landing on the beach, at the foot of the bluff, on which the town of Economy is seated, we had to ascend a steep slope by means of a wooden flight of stairs, from 80 to 100 feet in height, and thus reaching the level plain on which the houses are built, we soon gained the main-street, and by some of the members of the community we were conducted to the hotel. Having brought letters with us from Pittsburgh, to some of the elders of the community, we were well received, had a private parlour and good bedrooms assigned us, and found a ready disposition to meet our wishes. We were visited during the evening by an American lady, the widow of a European gentleman, who formerly held the lands of this neighbourhood, and who made the first sale of the ground to Mr. Rapp, for his settlement; as well as by an English silk-weaver from London, who had come out, at the request of the Society, to introduce that branch of manufacture into the community. The lady was living in private apartments at the hotel, having been here some time, awaiting the adjustment of her late husband's estate; and the

silk-weaver had been two years in the community, working himself, and teaching several of the members his art or trade. From these we learnt much respecting the history of the community, its organization, and its peculiarities; and the Superintendent, to whom I had brought letters, being also very frank and communicative, and passing an hour with us in the evening, supplied whatever information we desired, in unreserved answers to our inquiries.

On Sunday we attended worship in the Church of the Society, conducted by Mr. Rapp, from 9 till 11; dined at 12; and passed the afternoon in the examination of the Museum, under the direction of the physician and his wife; saw the great Social Hall, for their festivals and anniversaries; ascended the gallery of the church-tower, to obtain the better view of the whole settlement; and passed the evening with Mr. Rapp himself, and a most agreeable party of his family and friends. On Monday, we devoted the whole of the forenoon to visiting the different parts of the Settlement, especially the silk, cotton, and woollen factories, all then at work, as well as some of the dwellings of the persons engaged in them; so that we had the best opportunity of observing the actual condition of the whole, in its working and operation; and from these sources the following history and description of this interesting settlement was compiled.

In the year 1804, Mr. George Rapp, being then 48 years old, a weaver by trade, and a Lutheran-Separatist in religion, conceived the idea of forming a Society on the principle of "community of property," such as appears to have existed among the earliest

disciples and converts to Christianity, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, c. ii. v. 44, 45, "And all that believed were together, and had all things in common. And sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all, as every man had need." A sufficient portion of land, and a free country, as it respects religious liberty, being essentials for this, he came to America, where both were sure to be found; and after some search and investigation for the most suitable place, selected a station in Butler county, Pennsylvania, about 16 miles distant from this, where, in the next year, he was joined by many followers from Germany, who, with their leader, founded the first Settlement on the 25th of February, 1805. They continued here for about ten years, but being 14 miles distant from the river Ohio, the great highway of transport for all farming produce, the situation was found to be disadvantageous; and an opportunity offering to sell the lands and houses to advantage, these were disposed of, and a new settlement was formed in what was then deemed a much more eligible site, on the river Wabash, in Indiana, which empties itself into the Ohio, where they bought 30 sections of land, of 640 acres each, at $1\frac{1}{4}$ dollar per acre. The first settlement, in Pennsylvania, was called Harmony, and the second, in Indiana, was named New Harmony. They remained here also for about ten years, during which they built a small town, erected a large church; and their numbers being still further augmented from Germany, they conducted their agricultural and pastoral operations with great success, and began some small undertakings in domestic manufactures. Objections,

however, were found even to this spot, though it is described by those who lived there, and with many of whom we conversed, as being eminently beautiful and fertile; but in the spring, the rich meadows were infested with small worms on the high grass, in such quantities that they were called the "army worms;"—in summer the mosquitoes were intolerable: and in autumn the fever and ague prevailed. They, therefore, determined on a second removal, as soon as a favourable opportunity should occur for disposing of their lands and dwellings.

It happened that about this period Mr. Robert Owen, of Lanark, was in search of such a spot, with a view to form a Co-operative community, on the principle of Mr. Rapp's, as far as regarded a community of goods; but differing from his entirely, in the material point of religion, as well as in matters of subordination and authority, labour, discipline, and many other details. Mr. Owen purchased the settlement of New Harmony, which embraced nearly 20,000 acres of land, and induced a number of persons from England to follow him there, as well as persons in America to join their numbers; the price paid by him for the land, house, and stock, being only 105,000 dollars. But this new community did not last, it is said, even a single year. The causes assigned for its failure, among the persons with whom we conversed here, and who professed to be well acquainted with the facts, were these. Mr. Owen, it appears, held that man was by nature so disposed to labour, and a certain amount of it was so agreeable to him, that it was not necessary to have any rules or regulations to enforce it in any

way; and as he thought a very small amount of labour was sufficient to produce all that could be necessary for a Co-operative community, he considered that those only needed to work, who chose so to do, and those who preferred being idle, might be allowed to follow the bent of their own inclinations. It was accordingly soon found that the idlers were very many, while the workers were very few; there was neither production nor accumulation to be expected under such a state of things. As amusement, however, had its full share of attention—though labour received so little—and as religion had no share at all—the fine church built by the community of Mr. Rapp, was speedily converted into a temple of entertainment; and concerts, balls, lectures, and debates, succeeded each other, almost every day. Magnificent plans were formed for buildings and improvements; but the sources of wealth being entirely neglected, the means of executing these plans could not be provided. The authority of the Founder was no greater than that of any other man; and diversities of opinions led to disunion, so that the community gradually dispersed, the property became less and less valuable, and the Society was ultimately broken up entirely—when Mr. Owen returned to Europe. Such is the statement given here, at least, of the failure of New Harmony, and the causes which occasioned it under Mr. Owen's management.*

* It is so difficult, however, to obtain perfectly correct information on ex-parte statements, that it is more than probable there were other causes besides those assigned, for the failure of Mr. Owen's plans at Harmony: and a more favourable construction might be put on his views and management by those who accompanied him in the enterprize. That his motives were benevolent, and his desire to promote the happiness of his followers, disinterested and sincere, few persons who know his history would doubt. My own conviction is, that if the

Mr. Rapp and his followers came from Harmony as soon as the sale was effected, and purchased the ground necessary for the formation of their present settlement. This was in the year 1825; and they have ever since continued here, finding in this spot all the requisites of capacity for productiveness in agriculture and manufactures; a genial and healthy climate; and sufficient facility of intercourse with near and distant markets: and as they have prospered ever since they came here, here they are likely to remain.

Not long since, a division was made in their body, which has somewhat reduced their numbers; the circumstances of this are thus narrated: A person from Germany, named Count Leon, joined the Society in the year 1833, and continued for about six months a member. He is said to have had the ambition to succeed Mr. Rapp, as the head of the community, whenever the decease of that gentleman should take place. But his eagerness and impatience was such as to betray his design a little prematurely; indeed it was thought that he hardly intended to

simple and practicable principle that Co-operation is more advantageous than Competition, in the production, distribution, and enjoyment of wealth, had been exclusively put forth and made the rule and guide of action, unmixed with other speculative opinions as to the marriage-tie, and the truth of the Christian religion, Mr. Owen's labours would have been crowned with success, among the labouring classes of the population especially, for whom such Co-operative communities are so desirable and advantageous. But the open advocacy of views in morals and religion so opposed to the public feeling and sentiment of the great majority of the nation, as those put forth as the doctrines of the Socialists, could hardly fail to deter thousands who would have been otherwise well disposed to the experiment of a merely Co-operative Community, from joining such a body; though it is plain that the principle of Co-operation in labour, for producing wealth, and the adoption of any particular views on abstract subjects of opinion and belief, have no necessary connection with each other, and ought never to have been united.

wait till the Founder of the Community should be in his grave. Accordingly dissensions arose, and Count Leon putting himself at the head of the opposition party, succeeded in persuading a considerable number, that if they would follow him, he would found a better Society, and give them greater enjoyments, and a greater share of power, than they possessed here; many listened to his seductions, to the number of about 300, and left the Society with him, as Separatists, under his standard. Not content with this, the body so abandoning the community, sued Mr. Rapp and his Society for their share of the original and accumulated property, or for compensation for services; but though the action could not have been sustained, as all the members of the separating body had, at the time of taking up their membership, signed an agreement to relinquish all claim to individual property in case of leaving the Society, yet, for the sake of peace, a compromise was mutually agreed to, at the suggestion of Mr. Rapp; and the sum of 150,000 dollars was paid over to the 300 persons leaving the settlement, as their share of its value. They fixed themselves at a place called Philipsburgh, in the same State of Pennsylvania, but their leader being an unprincipled man, they were soon in disorder, and since that, the Count himself died, and the community, like Mr. Owen's, is broken up and dispersed.

The settlement of Economy embraces at present a tract of about 4,000 acres of rich land, on the northern bank of the river Ohio, in the State of Pennsylvania, from 16 to 20 miles below Pittsburgh—the land alone being worth, at 20 dollars an acre,

80,000 dollars, and the dwellings, stores, and larger buildings, 80,000 dollars more—while the stock of grain and cattle, materials of manufacture, machinery, and implements, is thought to be worth 160,000 dollars; in addition to which, they have in cash, bank-stock, and other descriptions of securities, nearly 200,000 dollars; so as to make the whole property amount to about 500,000 dollars—or 100,000*l.* sterling, for a community of about 500 persons, equivalent to 1000 dollars each.

The plan of the town is symmetrical; the streets, about 80 feet in breadth, crossing each other at right angles, and lined on each side with trees, but not paved, either at the sides or centre, as there is no thoroughfare of vehicles or passengers in sufficient numbers to render this necessary. The dwelling-houses, of which there are about 100, are small—of two stories chiefly; many of brick, and others of wood—most of them standing separately, and having a large portion of garden-ground attached to them, which is very neatly cultivated.

The larger edifices consist of a Church, about 80 feet by 60, with a square tower, clock, and gallery; a larger building, of two stories, 120 feet by 75, the lower floor of which is devoted to the Museum of Natural History, and Curiosities—and the upper story to a Social Hall for their anniversary and festivals. There is also a woollen-factory, a cotton-factory, and stores or magazines for the various articles consumed in the community—and a Hotel for strangers, at which we were accommodated.

The community consists at present of about 500 persons, and of these there are nearly 300 males and

200 females, including about 20 children, from 5 to 15 years old. Of the males, the greater number are above 40, and nearly one-fourth above 60. Of the females, the majority are above 30; but all appear strong, healthy, and robust, and in this respect present a striking contrast to the females belonging to the Shaker community, who are all remarkably pale, feeble, and unhealthy, in appearance at least.

The conditions of admission into the Society are, faith in the doctrines of Christianity, as understood by the Lutheran Church, embracing a belief in the Trinity, original sin, the fulness of the atonement, sanctification by grace, and justification by faith; with the duty of living like the early apostles, who "had all things in common." This belief, coupled with good character for honesty, industry, and sobriety, and an expressed willingness to resign all claim to individual property, and conform to the rules and regulations of the community, are the only requisites for admission. The community, however, do not seek to increase their number by proselytes: they do not even take the pains to make public the principles on which their community is founded, or the doctrines in which they believe. The reason they urge for not doing so is this: that God, in his own good time, will dispose the hearts of men to embrace their views; when this happens, they will come, and ask to join them; but if they are not so disposed by the grace of God, no invitations or proclamations would avail. They say, also, that their existence as a religious community is well known, their success in the accumulation of property admitted, and the purity of their lives and conduct not denied—their

example, therefore, is open to the imitation of all; and this is worth a thousand precepts. Nearly the whole body are Germans, consisting of the elder portion, who came out with Mr. Rapp, their children, since grown up to maturity, some few who have joined them from Germany, and a very few whom they have admitted from this country; the latter are chiefly widows and orphans, who were left destitute of support, and who were glad to take shelter in such an asylum.

The principle of government is patriarchal,—the chief authority being vested in Mr. Rapp, who is now in his 84th year; but he is not despotic, or without control. In all cases of discipline—in the erection of new buildings—in the transaction of extensive purchases or sales—he consults the elders of the community, states his opinion, and offers his advice, which has great weight; but when the majority of the elders think and advise differently, he adopts their views, and relinquishes his own. He appoints from these elders, persons in authority next to himself, descending through three or four gradations; and in the choice of these, capacity and fitness appear to be the only rule or test of preference.

By the elders and superintendents, the population are classified, and assigned to the several labours for which they are required, and for which they are most fit. A certain number of men are devoted to agricultural operations, another portion to the woollen manufactory, some to the work of building and carpentry, others to the making of hats, shoes, and smiths' work, as well as domestic utensils and furniture. The females are employed in the cotton-factory,

in making clothes, and in the performance of all the household or domestic labour; and the few children are taught by them the simple elements of reading and writing, and assist in the lighter labours also.

The families, as they are called, live in parties, varying from 5 to 8 in number, in separate dwelling-houses, rarely or ever all of the same sex; but about the proportion of males to females which exists in the Society generally—as about 3 to 2; but not in marriage. Mr. Rapp was married when he founded the community; and his wife, son, and daughter came out with him originally, and lived with him for several years. The wife and son are both since dead; but the daughter and grand-daughter are still living, and keep Mr. Rapp's house. Celibacy, however, though not made a positive condition of membership, is so strongly recommended, on the grounds advised by St. Paul, that there are only a few married families in the whole community—that of the Physician, and some others. The instances have been very few in which any parties have expressed a desire to marry; whenever they have done so, it has been permitted, and the marriage consecrated by a religious ceremony; but in general the parties have, either at the time or subsequently, left the community, and gone into the world. No instance of illicit intercourse or seduction has taken place, during the whole term of the Society's existence; no crime of violence, no theft, and no drunkenness, have yet occurred in any single member of the community, from its first formation up to the present time.

The property being held in common, no individual lays claim to anything as his own; and as

nothing is either bought or sold among themselves, money is of course unnecessary. Stores of various descriptions exist, for the several articles in daily consumption—such as provisions of all kinds, clothing, furniture, &c., all of a simple, but wholesome and substantial kind; and each of these stores is placed under the superintendence of a competent individual. At stated periods in the day or week, the caterer for each family goes to the store, and procures such articles as may be required, and there is no limitation to the quantity to be supplied. Experience soon establishes a sort of standard of probable sufficiency, and this is generally found to be adequate to the regular consumption, beyond which there is no temptation either to hoard or waste. As there is always enough for every one, there is no apprehension of scarcity; and as the habit of care and economy is established both by precept and example, waste would be deemed sinful, and is never practised. It is the same with clothes as with provisions.—Only certain articles of apparel, all substantial and good, but simple in colour and form, are made for males and females, from materials woven, and labour supplied, in the place; and whenever any of these garments are required, application to the store is sufficient to obtain them, "without money, and without price."

Persons being thus assured of a full and sufficient supply of good food, good clothing, comfortable shelter, and an equal share of whatever social privileges, or accumulations of property within the community, may be the fruits of this system,—cheerfully give their labour as an equivalent for this;

especially as that labour is healthy, light, and in no respect degrading. The men work about ten hours a day; having breakfast at half-past six—dinner at half-past eleven—and supper at half-past five. The females working in the cotton-factory have only eight hours' labour; and in the dwellings still less, for at nine in the evening every one retires, and they have several hours of leisure in the day.

The costume of the members is German, but without any very marked peculiarity. The men wear short jackets, or half-coats, and trousers, of grey cloth, with waistcoats of lilac or brown, and black hats and shoes of the ordinary kind. The women wear gowns with long sleeves, of a sort of light woollen cloth, like coarse merino, of dark colour, with a neat handkerchief of silk or cotton over the shoulders, pinned down tight before—a plain white or checked apron, and a perpendicular German cap—of black when in their labouring dress, and white in the evenings and on Sundays. The men wear their beards under their chin, and round the lower edge of the face, of different lengths, but shave the cheeks and upper lip down thus far; and the older men have also their white locks hanging down over their shoulders. The women wear their hair parted in the middle, and combed back smoothly under their plain caps; in both sexes the characteristics are simplicity, neatness, comfort, and economy; but there is not the slightest particle of taste or elegance in their apparel; and though their forms are robust and healthy, it would be difficult to light upon 500 persons anywhere else, I think, with so little of either masculine or feminine beauty. They appear, how-

ever, to be very happy; to venerate their leader; to be deeply impressed with their religious views, and with a sense of duty; and to labour cheerfully, and be content with the comforts, the tranquillity, and the protection they enjoy, without the least anxiety either for the present or the future. This is particularly manifested in their entire freedom from all the inconveniences of the pecuniary pressure, which bears so severely on the general community in these "hard times." To them, it is matter of the utmost indifference, whether the Banks suspend payment or redeem their notes in specie—whether trade is flourishing or otherwise—whether bankrupts are many or few—and whether the Whigs or the Democrats prevail. They go on tilling their fields, and reaping their harvests; feeding their sheep, and shearing their wool; growing their fruits, and gathering them in—let the times be what they may. All the materials produced by them are first stored in sufficient quantity for the consumption of their own community, and the rest they send to market. The only things they require to buy, are cotton for their manufactures, and colonial produce for their household supplies; neither of which their soil or climate will admit of their growing. Their own wool and their own silk they work up into cloths, velvets, silks, and satins. Of these also they sell the surplus above what they themselves consume. To avoid all risks, they sell at small profit for ready money; and they purchase their raw cotton, their coffee, tea, sugar, &c., with ready money also, at reduced rates. And as, in every year's transactions, there is a considerable gain to the community—since they always produce much more than

they can consume—the excess of gain is expended in the purchase of new land, the erection of new buildings, and the procuring of new stock; or it is otherwise invested in some secure manner, so as to ensure the safety of both principal and interest.

The only thing that seems wanting to make the community perfect, is a higher relish for education, literature, and the fine arts, with the devotion of a larger space of time to the cultivation of the mind and the enjoyment of intellectual pleasures. But it must be remembered, that their founder was a linen-weaver of Germany, of little or no education; that those who have since joined the community are persons of a similar class; and that the habit of labouring and accumulating for the common stock, having been formed as the chief pleasure in all those who have grown up from youth to age in the Settlement, it would be difficult suddenly to inspire them with a love of literature and the arts, while there is no rising generation of children that can be trained up with such a taste, as their successors. Moreover, the present members think that neither religion nor economy could be advanced, but both wonderfully endangered, by too much encouragement being given to the indulgence of a taste for the luxurious enjoyments of literature and the fine arts; and therefore they think it a duty to be very cautious in this matter. Notwithstanding this, however, they have a highly interesting Museum, some good pictures, and excellent music; all of which they enjoy sufficiently to warrant a hope, that from such a beginning, much may hereafter be produced, or engrafted on it.

We passed our Sabbath here most agreeably; indeed, as pleasantly as any we had yet enjoyed in the United States. After an early breakfast, we attended the morning service in the church, as early as 9 o'clock. The interior of the building was perfectly plain, but lofty and spacious, well lighted and ventilated, and beautifully clean. There were neither pews, pulpit, altar, or other fixtures; in which respect it resembled the simple interior of a Quaker Meeting-house. The seats were substantial forms, or benches, with a broad flat rail at the back, of unpainted wood, and without cushions. The platform for the preacher, was a single elevation, of about 3 feet, enclosed on each side with a wooden railing, open in front where the ascent was by a few steps; and on this platform, about 12 feet by 8, was a table and chair for the preacher. At the sound of the bell, the dwellings began to pour forth their inmates, all neatly dressed, the females all with snow-white caps, and each with a book under the arm. The church was filled in less than five minutes, the whole number being about 450, out of a community of 500; the remainder being left at home to prepare the food, and take care of the very few young children, and the dwellings. The males occupied one side of the church, and the females the opposite side; their numbers appearing to be nearly equal.

When all were seated, Mr. Rapp entered, with his hat on, keeping it on his head till he reached the platform, when he uncovered. He was accompanied by his granddaughter, a young lady of about 20, to whom he gave his cane, on his taking his

seat. His person was tall, above six feet, his whole frame erect and robust, his countenance ruddy, his long hair and flowing beard perfectly white, and he looked at once the most vigorous and most venerable man at eighty-four that could be seen or conceived. His apparel had nothing peculiar in its shape, being formed of a surtout coat, trousers, and waistcoat, of the ordinary forms, but all made of the best manufacture of the Settlement; the coat a rich dark green velvet, the trousers a black velvet, and the waistcoat a black satin, and all with buttons of the same colour.

The service commenced with the singing of a German hymn; and as every individual had a book, the page and number, and first line of the hymn, was sufficient to be given out; as after that, all could proceed, without having the lines repeated. The singing was sufficiently good for the simple melody of the hymn-tune, without the aid of instruments, or any attempt at harmony by singing in parts; and it was very effective, as every individual of the whole assembly appeared to join cordially in the exercise. Every one sat during the singing; but when prayer followed, every one rose, and joining their hands clasped in each other, and closed upon their breasts, they continued in this attitude, with every appearance of silent, sober, and sincere devotion, to the end, without sighings, sobbings, or moanings, and in the most perfect order and decorum. The prayer was fluent, copious, and fervent, without being violent; and such as would have become any place of Christian worship. The sermon followed immediately after this. It was

preceded by the reading several verses from St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians; and the sermon was a running commentary on these, the preacher sitting at the table on the platform during its delivery; and though given in a loud and firm voice, and with great vigour of tone and decision of manner, it contained nothing, in act or gesture, of which the most fastidious could complain: having no reference to any peculiarities in their own mode of life, but being just such a sermon on the general doctrines of Christianity as any other Lutheran minister might preach. To the sermon succeeded another hymn, which was also well sung; and by a quarter before 11, the assembly was dismissed; so that the whole service lasted about the same length of time as that of other churches. More perfect order and decorum could not be witnessed; the females rising and retiring first, and the males remaining seated, until every female had passed over the threshold, when they rose and followed, so that there was no hurry or pressure; and yet, from there being three large doors of exit, the whole assembly were dispersed in less than five minutes after the service closed.

The physician of the Settlement, Dr. Feucht, or Feight, as it is pronounced, waited on us after dinner with a message from Mr. Rapp, (to whom our arrival had been made known on the previous evening, by one of the elders, Mr. Henrici, to whom I had brought letters from Pittsburgh,) saying that as he understood we were to leave the Settlement to-morrow, when we should require all the former part of the day to see the manufactories, he would be glad if we

would devote the afternoon to an inspection of the Museum, before the second service of the church began, which would be at three o'clock; and after that, he invited us to come and pass the evening with his family in a social party; observing, that though they respected the Sabbath, as a day of worship and of rest, they were not so rigid in their observance of it as to exclude all enjoyment of innocent pleasures at the same time.

We accordingly visited the Museum in company with Dr. Feight. The building in which this is placed is the largest in the town, being in its external dimensions about 130 feet long, by 80 feet broad, and 70 feet high. The lower story is divided into two series of apartments, with a central passage dividing them, running down the whole length of the building; and in one of these series the present collection is placed, the other being reserved for future accumulations. In natural history there are many specimens of native quadrupeds, from the elk to the wild cat, well preserved; of birds, native and foreign, a still greater number, from the eagle to the bird of paradise; reptiles in abundance, from the alligator to the rattlesnake; fishes in great variety, and butterflies and insects in full proportion. Among the minerals are to be found almost every kind furnished by this continent; and a large piece of native gold, from the gold-region of North Carolina. Of philosophical instruments, they have but few—an air-pump and an electrical machine being among the number. Among the curiosities, is an antique iron-bound chest, with a most comprehensive, yet orderly arrangement of drawers and recesses within it, which

belonged to William Penn; and in which his celebrated Treaty with the Delaware Indians was kept by him while he remained in this country. The pictures are more numerous than valuable, and present a strange mixture. An extensive series of Chinese drawings of costume, occupy a large portion of the walls; and a series of American historical portraits, from Columbus and Americus Vespucius, down to General Jackson and Mr. Van Buren, but very badly executed, fill another section. Some better engravings of Col. Trumbull's historical pictures, such as the Declaration of Independence, and others, follow: and some highly interesting religious subjects are appropriately mingled with them. But the effect of these is strangely marred, by their being found in close juxtaposition with some very inappropriate and unworthy associates; such as tawdry French prints, representing Venus and Cupid, one as "L'Amour supplicant," and the other as "L'Amour triomphante," and a still more tawdry English caricature in the "Portrait of Tim Bobbin." Like every other Museum that I have yet seen in this country, (excepting only the Chinese Collection at Philadelphia,) this would be greatly improved by weeding and pruning; and if the articles were reduced in number, the whole Collection would be improved in value. The actual cost incurred in forming it, independently of the building, has been only 3,000 dollars; as very many of the articles have been presented, and others collected by members, without expense.

In a separate apartment, on the opposite side of the ground-floor, is a large painting, about 15 feet by 10, representing the great assembly of the Israelites

at the foot of Mount Sinai, while Moses went up to receive the law, amid the thunders and the lightnings that then enwrapped his venerable head. The painter was a young Frenchman, Mr. Louis Cortambert, an enthusiastic traveller, who had been much among the Indians in their wilds and prairies, and who was a visitor here some time since. As a work of art, it has no merit, but the conception is grand; amidst all its defects of execution, the whole effect of the picture is striking.

Above the Museum is the large Social Hall, running the whole length and breadth of the interior of the building, about 120 feet by 70, with a lofty arched roof, well lighted and ventilated, abundantly furnished with tables and forms; and well warmed with several central stoves. This Hall is devoted exclusively to the general meetings of the community, of which they have four in each year; one being to commemorate the anniversary of their foundation, the 25th of February, 1805; another being about the period of Easter; a third at the gathering in and completion of their harvest; and a fourth at Christmas; so that gratitude and devotion are the leading sentiments that direct these festivities. They then all dine together in the Social Hall, and devote the remainder of the day to music and social enjoyment.

In the evening, we went by invitation, as early as 5 o'clock, to take supper, and pass a few hours with Mr. Rapp, at his own dwelling. He received us with the greatest courtesy and cordiality; and bade us welcome in the most friendly accents. He wore the same dress in which we had seen him at

church; and on a nearer approach his fine countenance appeared to be the very personification of benevolence. As he spoke only German, which is, indeed, the common language of the settlement, our intercourse required the aid of an interpreter, which was readily supplied, as several of the family understood and spoke English and German equally well. After a short introductory conversation, he invited us to accompany him to his garden, before the day closed in, and we readily attended him there. This covered about an acre and half of ground, and was neatly laid out in lawns, arbours, and flower-beds, with two prettily ornamented open octagonal arcades, each supporting a circular dome over a fountain. At one quarter of the garden, Mr. Rapp pointed to a circular building of rustic masonry, composed of very large unhewn stones, rudely piled on each other, and covered with a sloping roof of straw-thatch, with rough bark door and portals, resembling the buildings called hermitages, often found in English grounds. On entering the interior, however, the visitor is pleasingly surprised to find an ornamented circular-room, with wrought ceiling, and ornamented panels; and in the centre of the whole, a well-executed female statue, meant as the personification of Harmony, holding a lyre, and presiding as the genius of the place. Around the walls of the interior were several inscriptions; one of which was, "The Traveller's Disappointment," meaning to express the surprise intended to be occasioned by the finding this statue and these ornaments within so rough an exterior; and another was "Harmony, founded by George and Frederick Rapp, Feb. 25,

1805." Frederick Rapp, though not the natural, but adopted son of George Rapp, was beloved in an equal degree with his own children; and his death,—which occurred but a few years ago, greatly accelerated, it is said, by the mortification he felt at the treachery and ingratitude of Count Leon in dividing the Society—was deeply lamented by all the members of the community, and almost brought the old man's gray hairs with sorrow to the same grave.

On returning to the house, we had a most substantial meal served up at half-past 6, as tea and supper united; the daughter and granddaughter of Mr. Rapp having prepared the whole with their own hands; and we agreed that we had never partaken of food more delicately or excellently cooked, or better tea and coffee, since we had been in the United States. Like the Quakers of England and America, with all the renunciation of luxuries and ostentation, there appears, among the Rappists, a thorough knowledge of what is really good for the body as well as for the soul; and a perfect taste to appreciate, and capacity to enjoy, what are called the "creature comforts" of alimentativeness.

After our meal we repaired to the drawing-room, which was neatly and comfortably, but plainly furnished; everything in it, and indeed, in the whole house, being made in the Settlement; Mr. Rapp's dwelling being only a little larger and more commodious than those of the community generally. Our party now consisted of Mr. Rapp, his daughter, about 50; and his granddaughter, about 20; Mr. Henrici, one of the elders and superintendents, about

40; Dr. Feight, about 45; Mrs. Basse, the widow of the gentleman from whom Mr. Rapp had made his first purchase of land—a lady who had resided 20 years in Germany and France; Mr. Fox, a silk weaver from Spitalfields, who had come out at Mr. Rapp's invitation, to introduce the silk manufacture into the Settlement; Mrs. Buckingham, my son, and myself; in all ten persons, quite enough for general and animated conversation, and not sufficient to divide off into small groups, or parties; so that whatever was the topic of our discourse, all shared in it, without inattention or interruption.

Mr. Rapp was very anxious to learn of me the actual condition of Palestine, at the period of my travelling through it, especially as to the capacity of its soil and climate to sustain a large population. Being a firm believer in the exact and literal truth of the Scriptures, he concluded that a country, which on so small an area could sustain nearly three millions of people, which Palestine did in the days of its glory, could be readily made by a judicious direction of its fine natural capacities to support as great a number now; as he considered the curse that had lighted on it to be the misgovernment of man; and that this being removed, all its ancient blessings would be restored. He said he was a firm believer also in the Millennium, or the second coming of the Messiah, to reign as a temporal king on the throne of David in Jerusalem, and to bring about a state of universal purity, happiness, and peace; respecting which he thought the prophecies so clear, that he believed their accomplishment would take place before the year 1850; in which

case he might be alive to see it. He had strong hopes, indeed, of being able to remove, with all his community to Palestine, when the unequivocal signs of the immediate advent of the Messiah should show the hour to be near at hand; and he said he endeavoured so to live with his little family as to be found always ready, whenever the Son of Man should appear again. He was glad to learn that in England there were many sincere and devout believers, among Christians of various denominations, in the Millennium; and that a sum of money had been raised by the friends of the Jews in England, to build a Christian church on the holy Mount of Zion, in which the service was to be conducted in the Hebrew tongue. Both of these facts were new to him, and appeared to give him great pleasure, as he said he numbered them among the most auspicious signs of the times.

In the intervals of our agreeable conversation, we had vocal and instrumental music, all German, and admirably performed: Mozart, Meyerbeer, and Beethoven, were the chief composers from whose works the instrumental pieces were selected; but many of the hymns and anthems were of Mr. Rapp's composition as to the poetry, Mr. Henrici's arrangement as to the music, and the execution devolved on Miss Gertrude Rapp, as leader on the pianoforte, which she played admirably, accompanied by male performers on the flute, horn, and bassoon; and by three male and six female voices, from the younger members of the community, from 20 to 25, who had been invited to join our party for the purpose.

An evening of more pure and unalloyed enjoyment it has never been my lot to pass, at any time, or at any place within my recollection; and when the hour of retirement came, about 9 o'clock, the feeling which seemed uppermost in every bosom was love and veneration for this patriarchal and benevolent friend and father of the happy community over which he presides; and next to that, sincere and deep regret that we could not remain longer together, but were likely soon to separate, never perhaps to meet again on this side the grave. Our last thought on closing the day was, as to the contrast of happiness and virtue which this community of 500 persons presented, when compared with any other community of the same number and extent in any part of the world; and my own conviction was, that there was nothing impracticable to prevent the formation of similar communities, with the addition of some great and important improvements, which might be made to embrace a large portion of every educated and virtuous society on the globe.

On the following morning, Monday, we devoted the whole of the forenoon to visiting the manufactories and workshops, under the direction of Mr. Fox, the English silk-weaver, and the physician. In the workshop or factory of the former, both men and women were employed in weaving silk and satin, plain and figured, all of as good quality as is produced at Lyons, or in London; and in a separate apartment of the works built exclusively for it, was an exceedingly beautiful machine, in the shape of a seven-fold loom, at which, by the mere turning of a horizontal bar, like that with which water is pumped from the

hose in a fire engine, seven separate ribbons, of seven different patterns, were woven at the same time. The machine was a piece of admirable workmanship, built chiefly of mahogany and ornamented with brass, the whole being made and set up by the mechanics of the community, under Mr. Fox's direction; and the working, when the patterns were fixed, with unerring precision—the labour being so simple and so easy that a child might use it for safe and healthful exercise. These were figured satin ribands of the greatest width in use among fashionable ladies for bonnets, and these were pronounced by the ladies of our party to be quite equal in texture, colour, and quality, to the best French ribbons sold in London, and at about the same price. We brought away some of each of these manufactures as specimens.

The cotton factory, which we visited next, was on the same plan as those of Manchester and Lowell, divided into floors or stories, with different operations of spinning and weaving going on in each, the power-loom and the steam-engine supplying the place of manual labour. The greater number of the persons employed here were females, between the ages of 20 and 30, with some few older ones, as superintendents; the whole number not exceeding 100. The woollen factory, which was in another part of the town—though both were nearer the river than the dwelling-houses, for the purpose of there carrying off the smoke and steam—was constructed on the plan of those of Leeds; and its operations similar to those I had often before seen in the splendid works of Mr. Gott, in that town. Here men only were employed, to the number of about 100, including the dye-

house, and drying and bleaching grounds attached. In the dressing-room, where we met old Mr. Rapp, who usually takes his morning round, to see his children, as he calls them, and animate every department of their labour and enjoyment by his presence, we saw some fine wool-dyed black broad-cloth, of the finest quality, just finished, and not at all inferior to the best broad-cloth of England or France. Indeed, procuring the best workmen at any price, to teach their members the art—using only the best materials of each kind—having no motive to cheat or defraud by sacrificing strength and good quality to cheapness—and never being pushed or hurried to get up goods for a particular market, or over-reach, or undersell a competitor in the same line of trade, they make whatever they do in the best way in which it can be made, and rely rather upon its excellence than its cheapness to ensure it a preference, which is just the case with the productions of the Shakers, who, under similar advantages for making all they do excellent, obtain higher prices for their articles than are ever paid for things of the same description made by the general trade.

The great charm about these labours of the Rappists, is, that no one appears to be over-worked, or under-fed; none are without abundance of clean and comfortable apparel; there are in their factories no children, whose strength is taxed beyond its power to bear: there is no anxiety on the mind of a single being, as to a stoppage of the works, a loss of employment, a reduction of wages, or any of those vicissitudes, which place before many an English operative the choice between a prison, a poor-house,

or emigration. There is no drinking to intoxicate old or young, and to produce the disease and misery which that engenders—no confined air and heated atmosphere to oppress respiration, and vitiate the blood: no want of medical aid, rest, and recreation, if sickness should require absence from labour: and no fear of want resulting from loss of time. No political questions or party contests ever agitate their passions, or inflame their ill-will. The day glides on tranquilly; and after light labour, and sufficient food, mingled with the enjoyment of a cheerful walk in the open air, or music practised in concert—they retire early to rest, and rise again but to repeat the same course of simple and rational enjoyments on the day following.

I may add again, that the main principle of this Society, appears to me capable of being incorporated with other improvements, embracing marriage, with all the pleasures of educating and training the rising offspring—a larger devotion of time and means to the cultivation of Literature, Science, and Art—and the consequent crowning of the whole with more of refined and intellectual pleasures, than is now enjoyed.—This, I believe, would be quite practicable, without the intrusion of anything that should admit the influence of those evil passions, and the force of those temptations, which are engendered by the eager pursuit of individual wealth in general society. If such a union could be effected, as this alliance of a sound principle in respect to property, with the refinements and adornments of life, and based on a pure religion and sound morality, a great good would be attained, by the removal of seven-eighths of the

motives that lead to the commission of crime. No man who has studied history, or seen much of the world in active life, can doubt, but that the love of wealth, and the eagerness of desire to possess it, is the ruling passion of mankind, and that everywhere it is productive of crime in a greater or less degree, from the days when St. Paul said, "The love of money is the root of all evil," down to the last Act that was passed for preventing or for punishing theft or forgery. The records of our criminal and civil courts, show a continued succession of attempts made by one class of persons to obtain, by violence or fraud, unjust possession of the property of another class; so that mankind are divided into the two great bodies of plaintiffs and defendants. These are not always in court, it is true; but whether in court or out of court, each class seems to be continually preying on some other, and getting out of the labours of the whole, as much as they can for their own benefit, with as little return of their own labour, as they can prevail upon them, by persuasion, or by fraud, or force, to accept. It is thus that lawyers are necessary to settle the never-ending disputes which contested property engenders; that watchmen and police are necessary to prevent open robberies; and that judges, and juries, and prisons, and hulks, are necessary to punish those who cannot be prevented. If to all this machinery at home be added, the armies and navies necessary to defend countries from robbers, seeking to possess their property from abroad; the taxes necessary to pay these armies and navies; the machinery and persons required to collect these taxes, and prevent their evasion by smuggling or otherwise;

the occupation of legislatures, writers, printers, and news-venders, busily employed, from day to day, in making laws, printing books and papers to prevent, or correct, or punish, the offences against life, property, morals, and religion, engendered by this "love of money, which is the root of all evil:" it may be truly affirmed, that one-half of the world are obliged to labour twice the necessary time, for half their just reward, in order to support the other half in luxury and indulgence, who are either idle, or occupied in labours which, if the love of money were not to be gratified by the possession of individual property, would be wholly unnecessary.—And if a remedy for this great evil, in the waste of human energies, and the multiplication of temptations to crime, is to be found in a re-modelling of such portions of society as may be disposed to form voluntary Co-operative communities, like this at Economy—with such varieties of improvement in detail, as time and experience may suggest—every such attempt ought to receive the commendation and indulgence of all the friends of Virtue, at least, instead of being sneered and scoffed at, as they are, by the common herd of mankind.

CHAP. X.

Departure from Economy—Voyage down the Ohio—Pass the western boundaries of Pennsylvania—Towns of Liverpool and Wellsville—Freedom and Temperance—Arrival at Steubenville—Position of the town—High level beyond the hills—Manufactories at Steubenville by steam-power — Quantity of wool produced annually in the United States—Population, Churches, and Seminaries of Steubenville — Newspapers — Vituperation — Example of the English press — American caricatures—Presentation of colours to the Blood Hounds—Meeting and resolutions for a high tariff—Exclusion of British manufactures justified by our corn-laws—Rise in the value of land at Steubenville—Indian cave of sepulchre and relics—Residence of Logan, the eloquent Indian Chief.

Having finished all our labours of investigation, and seen every part of this interesting Settlement, we made a round of visits to the dwellings of the members who had been most prominently with us in our perambulations; and after many a cordial benediction, and mutual interchanges of good wishes with these happy people, we embarked in the steamboat Maine, which passed Economy about one o'clock from Pittsburgh, on our way down the Ohio, to Steubenville, where we proposed to remain a few days.

Our passage down the river was extremely agreeable. The weather was like the brightest English day in the middle of May, with a perfect calm,

which made the surface of the stream like a mirror, in which were reflected the lofty hills on either side, with the occasional log-cabins and shantees, erected by the woodmen and quarriers, among the trees.

We soon passed the small town of Beaver, just 12 miles below Economy, in a pretty situation ; and about 10 miles below this we came to the western border of the State of Pennsylvania, the dividing-line running north and south, and crossing the river here just above an island in the stream, called, from its position, "Line Island." Beyond this, came the two States of Ohio on the right, and Virginia on the left of our downward track, which varied between west and south-west through the greater part of the way. Not far from the boundary-line, we halted to take in passengers, at the new town of Liverpool, which stands on a projecting plain, rounded off with a convexity towards the river, which gives it a great extent of water-frontage. It is judiciously placed, though at present the straggling houses, interspersed with the stumps of recently-felled trees, and the deep ruts and mud in the lines intended for streets, mark the infancy of its condition. About 10 miles below this, and on the same side of the river—all the new towns, indeed, thus far, being in the State of Ohio—we made another stoppage at Wellsville, a larger and an older place, with less of area for extension, but with fine wooded hills rising immediately behind the town, and having a population of about 3,000 persons. As the ascent over the steep bank is by a long ladder of substantial wooden steps, lying on

the slope, at an angle of about 45 degrees, making the passage up rather fatiguing and tedious, some enterprising citizen has profited by this obstacle to speedy intercourse with the town, and moored himself in a floating store, just at the spot where the steamboats touch, hanging out the sign of "Entertainment," and keeping a bar-room, with supplies of tobacco and liquors, for those to whom habit has rendered these poisons agreeable. The contrast between this and the landing at Economy, where no such tempations are placed in the way, is very striking. Here, drunken and dissipated men are seen congregated, making themselves still more brutal, from the facility of supply thus placed within their reach; while at Economy, not a human being has been seen in that degrading condition within their community ever since it has been established! There is a small village *called* Temperance, and another named Freedom, among the places we passed between Pittsburgh and Wellsville; but the misfortune is that their inhabitants content themselves with the *names* of these advantages, while at Economy the *things* exist, and more complete Temperance, and more perfect Freedom from the worst of all Slavery, the dominion of vicious appetites and evil propensities, exists at Economy, than at any other town of the same extent in the whole Union.

It was about six o'clock when we landed at Steubenville, in Ohio, which has an imposing appearance from the river; and landing here from the steamboat, we took up our quarters at the Washington Hall. It had been described to us as

a first-rate hotel, but we had long since learnt the different standards of excellence in different minds. We were not much disappointed, therefore, to find it, like most of the hotels in every part of the interior, except in the larger cities, dirty, ill-provided with minor comforts, broken windows, dilapidated locks to the doors, bad beds and bedding, wretched servants, and the odour of spirits and tobacco penetrating every apartment.

Steubenville, though now ranking as a city, being incorporated by charter, and governed by a Mayor and Aldermen, was only first laid out in 1798. It rises steeply from the right, or northern bank of the Ohio, having its principal street ascending upwards to the hills, at right angles with the river. This is nearly a mile long, and about 80 feet broad, well paved, with side walks, and having a number of good stores and dwellings. Several smaller streets run parallel to this on each side, and the whole are intersected by lateral streets crossing them at right angles, preserving the usual symmetry of American towns. The hills rise close behind the city, at an elevation of about 400 feet above the level of the river, and many beautiful views of the stream and opposite shores of Virginia are seen from hence to advantage.

It is said to be characteristic of these hills that bound the Ohio on both sides all the way thus far from Pittsburgh, that they are but the sites of former and more elevated banks to the river itself; for when you reach their summits, the country beyond them is not a plain on the same level as the lower banks of the river, but the hill of 500 feet on the

side towards the stream, is not 100 feet above the general level of the country beyond it, which goes away in gentle undulations of extreme beauty and fertility, continuing its higher level throughout. The valley of the Ohio is therefore from 300 to 400 feet deeper than the general surface of the country on either side of it; and everywhere along the slopes of the hills fronting the river, coal is found, with good limestone for building and manure, wood for timber and fuel, and highly-fertile soil, capable of cultivation from base to summit; so that the country combines almost every advantage that can attract population.

Steubenville has several large woollen-manufactories, in which steam-power is used, there being upwards of 30 steam-engines erected in the town. This is a branch of domestic industry that cannot fail to increase rapidly, and will no doubt ere long entirely supersede the woollen fabrics of England and France, the material being already abundant, and increasing every year. From a statement made on this subject during the last year, it appeared that there were about 15,000,000 of sheep in the United States, and allowing 3 lbs. weight for each fleece, the annual shearing of these would yield 45,000,000 of lbs. of wool, the average price of which having been for several years about 45 cents per lb., would give a value of 20,000,000 dollars for the annual supply of this raw material. There is also an extensive manufactory of stage-coaches and carriages, equal, in the quality of their construction, to those of Troy in New York, and Newark in New Jersey, the principal seats of this

manufacture on the west of the Alleghannies; and excellent cordage is made here from hemp of native growth.

The population of Steubenville is estimated at 5,000, all white, at least we did not see a negro or coloured person during our short stay here, though they are so abundant in the Slave State of Virginia, on the opposite side of the river. For this population there are not less than 8 churches—2 Presbyterian, 2 Methodist, 1 Episcopal, 1 Catholic, and 2 Baptist; a large female seminary, presenting an attractive front, near the river, and having 200 pupils; a male seminary, called the "The Grove Academy," with about 100 pupils; and two large district-schools, erected within the last year; substantial brick edifices of two stories, with turrets, giving them the appearance of small churches, in each of which about 200 children are educated, the boys in the lower, and the girls in the upper story of the building. The two former are for the higher branches of education, and the two latter are common schools, sustained by the funds of the County and State, but being all in vacation at present, I had no opportunity of examining them more minutely.

There are two newspapers published in Steubenville, each violent party-papers, The Herald on the side of the Whigs, and The Union on the side of the Democrats. The bitterness of invective with which each denounces its opponents can hardly fail to disgust a stranger; but the respective parties by whom the papers are supported, evidently enjoy this with the highest relish; and if the editors are

to blame for indulging in such invective, their respective patrons and supporters are equally so, for sustaining them in their labours; for as most editors rather cater to the already existing public taste, than attempt to counteract or reform it, this virulence is found in their papers because it is known to be gratifying to their readers, and to attract additional subscribers. The correction of this evil, therefore, must be in the purification of the public taste and feeling, for while this is corrupt, there will be always found unprincipled writers to pander to it. But an Englishman must feel some restraint in condemning this characteristic of the American press, and some shame for that of his own country, when he reads such paragraphs as the following, which I find in a late Pittsburgh paper of April 11, and which will no doubt be repeated in every journal of the Union:—

"THE LONDON PRESS.—We have once or twice alluded to the coarseness and violence which characterize some of the leading journals of the British metropolis, and especially the London Times. A number of that paper, now before us, describes Mr. O'Connell as 'wigged and wrinkled'—'an anointed old scoundrel'—'a pompous braggart'—'a monster'—and 'a hoary robber.' The Times, it will be remembered, is the *leading* journal of London, and the organ of a party in that country which claims for itself a great portion of the *dignity*, *decorum*, and *respectability* of the nation! 'Unmeasured virulence,' observes another English paper, when alluding to The Times, 'has long been the crying sin of English journalism.' And yet, with such examples immediately before him, Captain Marryatt was appalled and disgusted at the tone and temper of the American Press!"

As we approach the residence of General Harrison, which is on the banks of the Ohio, the party-

warfare seems to grow more intense; and as this State takes the lead in advocating his claims, as one of its own citizens, to the honour of the Presidency, the political meetings and political demonstrations in his favour are stronger and more numerous here than elsewhere. In all the States through which we have yet travelled, the newspapers are remarkable for the extravagant and bombastic manner in which they herald forth their victories, or those of their party, wherever they may happen; and whether it is in a large State or a small one, whether for governor or police constable, it seems to make no great difference; the last victory is ever the most important, and the one that settles for ever all doubt about the general issue of the contest. Here is a ludicrous example of this, in the leading article of the Steubenville Herald, published during our stay here, April 15:

"Come out again, you old Harrison trumpeter, and blow a blast, loud and long, for Old Connecticut. Harrison Victory! Four thousand majority for Governor!! From the New Haven Palladium—extra. The People have Triumphed—the Nation is Free!—'Rejoice, rejoice, the victory is ours!' Enough is known to ensure all! Auspicious day! Joyful consummation! The question is settled! Thus has the great campaign of 1840 opened —thus it must close. Connecticut has sustained the mighty shock of the KING'S FORCES with a firmness and gallantry never to be forgotten. Here was the Presidential battle-ground—here the destiny of the whole country was staked—upon the issue of the struggle depended the future triumph of Van Buren and Destructive measures, or that of Harrison and Reform!—A change of policy, and a change of men, is decreed! Connecticut has said it! Connecticut has done it! A hundred guns, and a thousand cheers for Old Connecticut!!"

The Democratic paper of the same date is evi-

dently very feeble after this, and has little in the way of fact, and not much in the way of argument, to oppose to the overwhelming torrent of General Harrison's popularity in this, his own State; except, indeed, that it shows all the pretensions of the General's friends to his being a poor man, living in a log-hut, and drinking hard cider, to be groundless, as he has an office which yields him 5,000 dollars a year, a fine house and large estate, and drinks as good champagne as any man in the country. But its anecdotes and jokes are evidently those of a writer driven to his last strait, and are ludicrous from their very feebleness. Here are two specimens that immediately follow each other—

"Log Cabins.—Yesterday, there was a general turn-out of the ruffled-shirt gentry, preparatory to the erection of a log-house in this city. It was amusing to see those worthies rolling logs with their *black* gloves on, to prevent the soiling of their delicate fingers. It took twenty-seven counter-jumpers, and one bank-attorney, to move a stick that six huge-paw Democrats would have moved with ease."

"A Sign.—At an auction in this town, on Saturday evening last, the profiles of Mr. Van Buren and Harrison were, among other things, submitted for sale. Those of Harrison, after long crying, went for 11 cents, while those of Mr. Van Buren went readily at 12½."

Even these, however, are not original, but taken the one from the Cincinnati Advertiser, and the other from the Mount Vernon Democrat; so that the writer is obliged to forage far and wide for his ammunition. Among the best of the jokes, good for its wit, but still better for the well-merited reproach which it gives to the present Administration, for their inhuman policy of importing and

employing bloodhounds from Cuba, to hunt up the Indians of Florida, the following appears in the Steubenville Herald of the same date. The Americans have no caricaturist among them to be compared to Cruikshank or to H. B., but this at least will be admitted to deserve its title—

"A Good Caricature.

"We have just a fresh caricature from Robinson, that is capital.

"It is 'The Secretary of War presenting a stand of colours to the 1st Regiment of Republican Bloodhounds.'

"The likeness of the Secretary is not bad; his canine troops are drawn up in order, while the editor of the Globe, on his knees before these allies of American soldiers, is exhibiting to them a map of Florida. The Secretary thus addresses his new recruits:

"'Fellow-citizens and Soldiers!—In presenting this standard to the 1st Regiment of Bloodhounds, I congratulate you on your promotion, from the base and inglorious pursuit of animals, in an uncivilized region like Cuba, to the noble task of hunting *men* in our Christian country! Our administration has been reproached for the expense of the Florida war, so we have determined now to prosecute it in a way that's *dog cheap!* Hence, in your *huge paws!* we put the charge of bringing it to a close. Be fleet of foot, and keen of nose, or the Indians will escape in *spite* of your *teeth!* *Dear Blair* [the name of the editor of the Globe] here shows you a map of Florida, the theatre of your future deeds. Look to him as the trumpeter of your fame, who will emblazon your acts as far as the 'Globe' extends. He feels great interest in all his 'kith and kin,' and will therefore transmit your heroism, in *doggrel* verse, to remotest posterity.'

"The Globe man follows in this wise:

"'I take pleasure in pointing out to you, my *brethren*-in arms, the seat of war, the honour of terminating which, our master has put in the hands of *our* race. I have no doubt you will all prove like myself—good *collar*-men in the cause.'

"The universal response of the corps is 'Bow-wow-wow.'"

Passing, however, from jokes to more serious matters, the papers here contain evidence of the growing strength of the high-tariff party, which, before long, will prove one of the greatest difficulties to British manufacturers, who now look to the United States as their best market. All along in our route from New York, through the whole of Pennsylvania and Maryland, I had noted public meetings to press upon the members of Congress the necessity of placing heavier duties on all British manufactures, for the purpose of protecting native industry. With nearly all classes and descriptions of persons this demand is growing more and more popular; and many, indeed, seek in this for the most perfect remedy of existing evils. At all these meetings, the example of England, as having acquired all her wealth and power by means of the protective system applied to her shipping and manufactures, is constantly cited; and above all, her continued perseverance in excluding all foreign grain for the protection of her agricultural interests, is deemed a triumphant argument in favour of a high tariff here. A meeting of this kind was held at Steubenville on the evening of Saturday last, the 11th of April, and the following short extract from its resolutions and proceedings will sufficiently show its object—

"*Resolved*—That this meeting is in favour of a Tariff of duties upon imported goods, for the protection of the manufacturer, the farmer, the mechanic, and the labouring man; and that it adopts and reiterates the patriotic maxim of Thomas Jefferson, that we must place the manufacturer beside the agriculturalist.

"This resolution being sustained, and its doctrines elucidated by several interesting and eloquent addresses, was unanimously adopted.

"Doctor John Andrews having been called upon by the meeting, appeared, and after addressing them in his usual happy style, offered the following resolutions, which were carried by acclamation:—

"*Resolved*—That we will give our decided preference to all articles manufactured in the United States, and that as citizens we will give to all articles or fabrics manufactured in Steubenville, the preference over all others.

"*Resolved*—That for the purpose of aiding and encouraging our own manufacturers, each member of this meeting will (as far as practicable) procure for his own use a complete suit of Steubenville jeans.

"*Resolved*—That we will aid and encourage, in their several callings, all those who give a preference to home-manufactured articles."

Whether, if England were to relax in the restrictive policy of her Corn Laws, America would consent to abandon the protecting system for her own manufactures, is uncertain. I fear, however, it is too late to hope for such a compromise. If the trade in corn had been free for the last ten years, the difficulties that now embarrass the United States, would not probably have occurred; because, in that case, her exports of grain and flour to Europe, might have fully balanced her importation of manufactured goods; and even now, if the remittal of duties on foreign grain were to be extended by England to America only, she could, in a very few years, pay the whole of her vast private debt to Britain in this commodity, as well as the interest of the many State debts and public works for which British capital has been advanced by persons investing it in railroads, canals, and State-stocks in this country. But, this is certain, that if the restrictive policy be maintained much longer

by England, with respect to so important an article as the chief food of man, it will abundantly justify any retaliatory measures which the Americans may take in excluding British manufactures from their markets; and the double operation of these two opposing pressures—on the one side, dear food and heavy taxes, for those who are called on to compete with workmen having cheap food and light taxes —and on the other side, a constantly-narrowing market for consumption, while their rivals have constantly-expanding ones, cannot fail in the end so to crush British operatives, as literally to grind them to the dust, and to leave them no refuge but in emigration.*

On the evening before our departure from Steubenville, we crossed the river, by the ferry, to the Virginia shore, and there held a long conversation with an old farmer, who had been 47 years on the same spot, which had also been occupied by his father before him for about 20 years, this being

* This passage was written on the banks of the Ohio in April, 1840. Recent events have too painfully confirmed the apprehensions then entertained. The condition of the operatives of England is worse now than at any former period of our history; and employment for our shipping and manufactories is every month diminishing;—while the American tariff has at length passed, imposing a duty of 40 per cent. on English cloths, and 60 per cent. on British iron, with duties that amount to entire prohibition on cheap printed cottons, silks, and manufactured hardware. —In the midst of this general distress from reduced employment at home, and certain further diminution of trade, from prohibition and competition abroad; the costly wars of Affghanistan and China, and the Income-Tax, will add still more to our financial difficulties; from which Free-Trade, Peace, and a well-directed system of National Colonization, can alone relieve us.

the place where his dwelling now stood, here on the banks of the Ohio, immediately in front of Steubenville, and in the State of Virginia. This is an unusually long residence for any family in the same spot, in this country, and especially here in the West; but the old man was evidently of a more composed and tranquil temperament than his countrymen generally, and more content with the mediocrity of his condition. He said that when he was a boy of ten years old, there was not a white family living near them, the whole of the surrounding country being occupied by Indians; accordingly they lived in continual apprehensions for their lives, and were always prepared with loaded rifles and other defensive weapons. At that time, the place where Steubenville stands, was a thick forest, with no tenants but the deer, who came down frequently to drink in the stream of the Ohio. He remembered well the building of the first house, in 1798, when the land was bought at 2 dollars an acre; and now, building-lots of 60 feet by 80, are sold in the town for 5,000 dollars each!

Not far from the present ferry, a little down the river's bank, a discovery was made, a few years since, of a remarkable excavation in the rock, which was entered by a small circular aperture in the side of the hill, about two feet in diameter, and just large enough to admit the passage of a single man. A stone had been placed against it, as a seal and a screen, and had concealed it effectually for many years from the view of the passers-by; but having been accidentally pushed aside by a person who happened to alight here, and the

entrance thus exposed, he penetrated into the interior, and found it to be a large cavernous excavation, filled with dead bodies, skeletons, skulls, and bones. It was found to be an ancient burial-place of the Mingo tribe of Indians, and apparently frequented by the living members of the tribe, as well as appropriated to the sepulture of the dead; for among the bones were found Indian pipes, belts, pouches, wampums, moccassins, and other parts of Indian costume, of all of which the cave was soon rifled, and the contents were dispersed among many private and public collections of such relics of the past.

On the opposite bank of the river, still lower down, at a distance of about two miles from Steubenville, but on the same side of the stream, was pointed out to us the tract of level land called the Mingo Bottom, from its having been the principal head-quarters of the Mingo tribe of Indians. It was here that the celebrated chief, Logan, lived, whose eloquent speech is given by Mr. Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, (of which the present State of Ohio then formed a part), as an example of the high-toned oratory of the Red Men of the Forest; and for tales and traditions of these "Stoics of the Woods," every spot around this centre is classic ground.

CHAP. XI.

Passage down the Ohio from Steubenville to Wheeling—Situation of the town on the western edge of Virginia—Zane's Island opposite to it, in the centre of the Ohio—Singular and ingenious mode of crossing the Ferry—Position of Wheeling—National Road—Transit of Stages—Steamboats and Rafts—Description of the Town—Episcopal Service at Easter—Relics of Colonial days—Peculiarities of the Virginians of the "Old Dominion"—Population, Whites, Blacks—Use of Tobacco—Newspapers, favourable exception to the general rule—Strange people from the West—Crude notions of England—Features of the Ohio river.

On the morning of April 16, we left Steubenville at 8 A. M., by the mail steamboat for Wheeling. The weather was delightful—like an English morning in June—with a thin haze, or mist, that somewhat obscured its brightness. The scenery of the banks, as seen on both sides of the river, was beautiful and picturesque—the hills receding gradually more and more from the stream, and leaving larger portions of level land for cultivation. The trees were many of them in blossom, and all in early bud,—but few having their leaves yet expanded. We passed several small villages in the way, and stopped at most of them to put on shore or take on board some passengers. The only town of any size that we saw, was Wellsburgh, in Virginia, a distance of 7 miles from Steubenville; and after a short passage of 16 miles further, we reached Wheeling, in the same State,

about half-past ten, and procured agreeable rooms at the United States Hotel, which is close to the banks of the river, and combines the advantages of fresh air and a pleasant view of the stream.

We remained here four days, but found fewer objects of interest to reward our stay, than in almost any other place of the same size that we had ever visited. The situation of the town of Wheeling is disadvantageous to its future extension. It is seated on a high bank, on the Virginia side of the Ohio river, and on a strip of land so narrrow, that after a breadth of three streets, running parallel to the river, the steep hills prevent any further expansion of the town, so that all additions to its buildings must be made at the western end, and further down the river. Between the town and the Ohio shore, is a large level island, called, from its proprietor, Zane's Island—in which it was intended to have formed a second town, and it was mapped off into streets and squares, and sold in lots for that purpose a few years ago. The proprietor of the island, who lives upon it himself, was unable, however, to obtain payments from the purchasers, and therefore was obliged to be content with taking his lots back again ; so that for the present the project of the insular town seems abandoned, though it would be a far better site than the one now occupied. This island has the river flowing in a good navigable channel on each side of it—the Virginia channel being crossed by a ferry—and the Ohio channel by a wooden bridge ; and it is on the Virginia side of course that all the steamboat navigation passes. The island is perfectly level, and very fertile ; but the banks of the river on either

side have hills within a quarter of a mile of the stream, well wooded, and rising to a height of from 200 to 300 feet from their base.

The mode of passing the ferry-boat across the stream, is sufficiently singular and ingenious to deserve a description, especially as it is the only instance in which I have ever witnessed it. At a distance of about 1000 feet higher up the stream than the ferry or passage, and on the shore of the central island, is fastened securely, the end of a rope of wire, or twisted chain; and a series of small triangular boats are placed at intervals of about 100 feet apart, with outriggers projecting from their gunwales, and elevated like derricks, over which this long rope or chain is made to pass: so that these boats sustain it, as so many buoys, and keep it in a proper state of tension. At the lower or terminating end of the chain, two small hemp ropes are fastened, of about 30 feet in length, and one of these is made fast to the bow, and the other to the stern, of the ferry-boat—she forming the base of the triangle, of which the two ropes are the two sides. By a wheel used for this purpose on board the boat, either of these sides may be shortened, so as to present the boat's side diagonally or quartering to the stream; her position, when both ropes are of equal length, being at right angles with the stream.

Accordingly on leaving the shore of the island, on whose bank the upper end of the chain is made fast—the rope at the bow, or off-end of the boat, is shortened, and her deep lee-boards let down, when she begins to feel the force of the current, which forces her downward with the stream; but as the

long chain suspended over the buoys pulls her upward, the diagonal motion occasioned by these opposing forces, and her own quartering position, brings her over to the opposite bank without steam, oars, horses, or any other power; requiring only to have her head kept in the proper direction by the man at the wheel, who tightens or loosens the spring on the rope, as the force of the current may require. On returning to the other side of the river, the same process is repeated. The off-end of the boat (for her head and stern are alike,) is, by the wheel-rope, turned upwards to the current, and the lee-boards again let down, to give her a quartering or diagonal position to the stream; and the boat being pushed off, the current seizes her, and carries her over to the other side in the same manner as before.

The string of floating buoys which sustain the rope of wire on the outriggers, comprises nine in number, at distances of about 100 feet apart. They are built on the ordinary principle of boats, with timbers or ribs, and planks fastened over these; and are open above or without decks, but they are triangular in shape, having their straight flat side or base presented upward to the current, so as to receive the full force of it on their hulls, and the pointed side or apex is presented downward to the stream in the eddy of the current. Every time that the ferry-boat crosses, therefore, the whole line of floating buoys crosses the river with it, whether coming or going, and the whole presents an interesting feature in the scene. Notwithstanding the entire absence of expense in the propelling force, in this respect, being the cheapest ferry that can be imagined, the charges are

very high, 6 cents or three-pence English, being charged for every single foot-passenger, and proportionably higher charges for horses, waggons, and carriages. As this is the great line of transport on the National Road, between the Eastern and Western States, the boat hardly ever crosses with less than a dollar of freight on board; and makes easily from 50 to 100 trips across in the day. It is a close monopoly, however, as the island belongs to one chief proprietor, and the right of the ferry belongs to the island.

The town of Wheeling existed before the revolutionary war, as Lord Dunmore, the last royal governor of Virginia, was here in 1774; but it continued to be a small and insignificant village until the recent formation of the great National Road, projected to run from Cumberland, at which the Philadelphia and Baltimore roads meet, all the way across the States of Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, to St. Louis, in Missouri. It is already completed as far as Columbus, in Ohio; and since that has been finished, the population, traffic, and importance of the place has increased greatly; as passengers from the South are continually arriving here in the steamboats, from all the great cities between, to take the National Road across to the Eastern cities on the Atlantic. Other passengers are constantly arriving also from these quarters, to take the steamboats for the Western cities, as well as for all the places on the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and their various tributaries. Eight stages already arrive and depart daily; and they are generally all full, carrying 9 to 12 passengers each; while of steamboats at least an equal number arrive and depart daily, containing

from 50 to 100 passengers. Large rafts, laden with shingles, and formed of timber and planks, in various sizes, for sale, are continually passing down the river, from places above Pittsburgh, to the number of from 50 to 100 in each week; and these, besides the crews necessary to navigate them, carry down frequently from 30 to 50 passengers, mostly emigrant settlers, with all their goods and chattels around them. Some of these rafts are 200 feet long by 50 broad; and are worth 5,000 dollars. They take two months to float down, from the head-waters of the Monongahela and Alleghanny, to New Orleans; but as their crews are not very expensive, they are amply compensated by the profits made; for the shingles, which they purchase, at one dollar and a half per thousand, at the place of shipment, sell readily for five dollars per thousand at the place of landing, when the voyage ends at New Orleans, where the whole raft is disposed of, and the men who guide it down the stream find their way back as deck-hands, or labourers, on board the steam-boats.

The town of Wheeling has nothing worthy of particular note in its plan or construction. The streets are few in number, and the principal ones run parallel to the river. They are of good breadth, and the side-walks well paved. The shorter streets cross them at right angles. The houses are chiefly of brick, and there are some spacious and well-built stores. There were also several large manufactories of cotton and woollen—but the extravagant rates to which the price of land had been run up for building-lots, and the high prices paid for building-materials and labour, caused these to stand at so heavy a first-

cost to the speculators, that they broke down before they began to realize any profit. The mania of speculation in 1835 and 1836, ran as high here as any where in the Union; and building-lots were sold at a higher price per foot than in the most expensive parts of any of the Atlantic cities. One block of buildings was pointed out to me, the ground for which cost 14,000 dollars; and the proprietor would now be glad to sell the ground, buildings, and all, for half the sum which the land alone cost him to erect it on. There are still, however, some iron and glass-works in operation, and some few paper-mills; but in general everything connected with trade and manufactures is in the most depressed condition; the natural result of the over-trading and speculating, the gambling and the extravagance, which preceded it.

Of public buildings, there are none of any great beauty. There are 5 churches — 1 Episcopal, 1 Methodist, 1 Catholic, 1 Presbyterian, and 1 Associate Reformed. The Episcopal Church is a neat and chaste edifice of the Grecian-Doric order, with a good portico, and very pretty interior. The Presbyterian ranks next, and has an Ionic portico, but much too narrow for its height; the others have no architectural character. A large new Court House is now building, which will be an ornament to the town; and a very pretty Bank, on the model of the Bank of the United States at Philadelphia, stands nearly in the middle of the town; but it wants the fine marble and the good elevation of its model, to set it off to advantage.

We passed our third Easter Sunday in America

here; our first Easter having been passed at Baltimore, and our second at New Orleans—points of sufficient distance apart, to make the variety and contrast very considerable. We attended the Episcopal service here, on this occasion; and found its congregation to comprehend, as it appears to do in most of the towns, the more wealthy and fashionable part of the community; the "old families," as they delight to consider themselves here, and especially in "the Old Dominion," as Virginia is still called, looking back with evident regret upon the privileges, which birth, fortune, and membership of the "Established Church," gave to their ancestors; and which some among them at least would willingly, if they could, regain. Among the congregation we saw several very old gentlemen, who wore their silvery-white hair tied in long tails, hanging over the back; a fashion which has become so rare, as to mark those who still retain it as relics of "the olden time."

The population of Wheeling is variously estimated at from 9,000 to 11,000 persons; and among them are at least 3,000 blacks, the greater number slaves, and only a few free. The white inhabitants do not appear to be as clean in their persons and apparel, or as active in their habits, as in the towns on the free side of the Ohio;—and tobacco seems in almost universal use. There are two large hotels, the Virginia House, and the United States, at the latter of which we staid, and liked it much better for its pleasant situation than for its domestic economy; though in this respect it had only the usual defects of the country, in the haste, noise, clatter, and

bustle, of its crowded table, and hurried and comfortless meals;—but the proprietor was courteous and obliging beyond the usual measure of landlords' civility, as in general they are most inattentive and indifferent to the comfort of their guests.

There are two weekly papers, long established. The Wheeling Times and Wheeling Gazette, both strong Whigs; and a new weekly paper just started in the interest of the Democrats, called The Western Argus. They are all remarkably free from the bitterness and personal scurrility so often seen in American prints; and furnish a favourable exception to the general censure, which most candid minds would be disposed to pass on the newspaper press of America.

We observed nothing remarkable in the society of Wheeling itself; but we met with some remarkable characters at the hotel, which apprised us of our approach to the Western States, where the greatest originality and oddity of character is to be found. One of the passengers in the ferry-boat, who crossed with us over to Zane's Island, where we went for an evening's walk, having heard that we were from England, congratulated us on belonging to a country in which he believed there was far more liberty than in the United States. I said we had undoubtedly greater liberty in some things than could be enjoyed here; and instanced the freedom of the press, and of individual action; as in England a man might publish his sentiments on any subject, without fear of any other punishment than the law might inflict, after trial and conviction by the regular tribunals; while in this country, even in the Free

States, a writer advocating the abolition of Slavery was likely to be tarred and feathered by his neighbours; and in England a man might take such course as he thought proper on any contested topic, by which the public mind might be agitated, without risk to his personal safety; while here he might be mobbed, or murdered, according to the degree of violence excited against him, and the perpetrators of the wrong would go unpunished. But our companion saw nothing wrong in this; and thought Abolitionists ought to be lynched, though hanging he thought was better than tarring and feathering, as this put an end to them at once! But the great invasion of American liberties of which he complained was this: that the State Legislature of Ohio had prohibited the issue of any notes of less amount than five dollars, by which a man was obliged to carry change in silver for all sums under that amount! He thought this the greatest tyranny; and said, that if such things were suffered to go on, Martin Van Buren would soon make himself a king, and then their liberties would be gone for ever; so that he was for General Harrison—"the log-cabin and hard-cider candidate"—as he believed that he would soon mend the bad times, which Van Buren and his kitchen-cabinet had brought upon the nation.

Two of our inmates at the hotel were from the country near Peoria, on the river Illinois; and had never been so far east as this before. The gentleman, who was the uncle of the young lady, and said to be a substantial farmer, had the crudest notions we had yet met with, respecting the government of England. He thought the House of Lords was a body

nominated by the whole nobility, of which they formed only a small portion ; and that the House of Commons was appointed by the Queen, and could do nothing but what she pleased. He supposed there was a law which forbade the nobility to mix in society with commoners, however rich ; and had no idea that the practice of elections was known in England for any office whatever! He said, that the great fault of America, in his estimation, was, that it was too aristocratic; and he did not think matters would be right in this country, until the tillers of the field should be considered to be the first class, and form the highest rank of society in the Union. The niece took no share in the political views of her uncle, which she thought was out of her sphere as a lady ; but talked chiefly about the Queen, and her marriage ; asking, among other questions, whether Prince Albert used tobacco? and whether the Queen was genteel in her manners? and all this was done with a degree of simplicity which rendered it the more amusing.

The river Ohio is not more than 500 feet broad, immediately opposite the town of Wheeling, on the Virginia side ; and about half that breadth on the other side of Zane's Island, on the Ohio bank, where it is crossed by a wooden bridge, of the usual tunnel shape, closed in on each side and above, for preservation of the timbers from the destroying influence of weather ; but having, like the bridge across the Alleghanny at Pittsburgh, an exterior open balcony, as a footpath for passengers. As the Congress of the United States has made large appropriations for the completion of the great National Road, which

passes through Wheeling, it is intended to press on the Legislature the necessity of making, as an essential part of such road, a Suspension Chain Bridge across the Ohio river. It is probable that this will be ultimately done, though the cost prevents it now; as the rise and force of the water is so great at certain seasons, that it would require piers of immense size and strength, and a bridge of considerable elevation, to answer the purpose of a permanent road over the stream, and yet allow, at all stages of the water, space enough for steam-boats to pass underneath it.

The length of the Ohio, from Pittsburgh, where it begins, to its junction with the Mississippi, where it ends, is upwards of 900 miles, and its average breadth is about 800 feet. It flows in a south-westerly direction; and its current varies from two miles to four, and even five miles in the hour when the water is high. It is frozen over throughout its whole extent, for from two to three months in the depth of winter; beginning to be open for navigation in February, or the beginning March. When this takes place, the danger of floods and freshets is great, and the rush of water is often tremendous. The average difference between its lowest and highest state is about 50 feet of elevation; but in 1832, it rose to 65 feet above its lowest level, and created terror and dismay, destroying bridges, sweeping away dwellings and cattle, and covering all the islands in the centre of the stream. Zane's Island, opposite Wheeling, which has several dwellings on it, and on which it was intended to build a town, was completely submerged; and only the tops of the tallest of its trees could be seen above the surface. At Wheeling

itself, high as the bank of the river is there, it was completely overtopped; and the inhabitants were driven to the upper parts of the town; while in Cincinnati, the lower part of the city was, for the same reason, completely abandoned for several days

The cause of this excessive overflow was, the unusual concurrence of the simultaneous rise of most of its tributary rivers; so that all poured their waters into its bed about the same period of time. This, however, is happily very rare; because it svaried tributaries have their sources in very different quarters; and are therefore melted or swollen at different seasons of the year. No less than ten different States of the Union contribute streams to the Ohio—namely, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama; so that the Southern rivers beginning to swell their volume first in order, the progress goes on gradually northward; and thus, by this succession, one after the other, the great body of the Ohio, to which they all tend, is kept moderately and progressively supplied. Its valley occupies eight degrees of latitude, and eight degrees of longitude; and if the extent of surface drained by this river be taken as a criterion to judge of the quantity of water carried by it to the great Mississippi, and through it to the sea, the waters of the Ohio may be considered as equal in quantity to that of all the rivers in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and the six New England States. Such is the computation of Mr. Atwater, the able and scientific historian of this State.

CHAP. XII.

Leave Wheeling by stage-coach for Zanesville—Common class of persons who travel by stages—Disgusting use of tobacco by all the men—Beautiful scenery of the country—Absence of a taste for natural beauties in America—Early spring—Flowering shrubs—Fruit trees in blossom—Excellent road—Neat and pretty villages—Singular characters among our fellow-passengers—Specimens of the exaggerated wit of the West—Arrival at Zanesville, and stay there.

The facilities of descending the river from Wheeling to Cincinnati are very great, as steamboats, to the number of eight or ten per day, arrive down the stream from Pittsburgh, and after staying a few hours here to collect freight and passengers, proceed onward to the Mississippi, reaching Cincinnati usually in 48 hours, the distance being 355 miles, though stopping at several places on the way, and the fare, including board during the passage, being only 6 dollars each. But we desired to see the interior of the State of Ohio, and therefore proposed taking the stage-coach from hence to Zanesville and Columbus, the capital of the State, and thence to Cincinnati.

We accordingly left Wheeling on the morning of Monday, the 21st of April, at half-past 7, A.M., with six passengers besides ourselves, making nine inside, the usual complement of American coaches,

but, as the day was cool and cloudy, we anticipated no great inconvenience from this, especially as the coach was completely open on both sides, so as to give us a full current of air; and although our companions were all men of coarse appearance and manners—this being the general characteristic of the great mass who travel by the stage, being farmers, country-dealers, and speculators, passing from town to town, as occasion may tempt them from one arena to another—yet there was a spirit of mutual forbearance and good nature, which augured well for our journey. Some difficulty arose at starting, as to the occupation of the outside seats, there being three seats, with three persons on each, and as they all chewed tobacco voraciously, it was an object of desire with each to occupy an end seat, for the convenience of spitting out of the coach: so that none were willing to take the middle. This is one of the greatest drawbacks to the pleasure of travelling in America, and much as has been written and said against this filthy and disgusting habit, enough will not have been said till every voice has been lifted up against it, and until the poisonous weed, with which no animal but man is willing to nauseate itself and others, be banished entirely from use. To many of the customs of foreign nations one may become reconciled by time, but this is not one of that description; at least I can say for myself, that my repugnance to it increases the longer I remain in the country: my impressions of its degrading influence on character are so strong, that I cannot conceive the American people will ever rise to the refinement of those of

Europe, until they conquer the fondness for those intoxicating and stupifying indulgences of alcohol and tobacco, which are fit only for the most grovelling appetites—which begin and end in mere self-gratification—and often degrade the man, "created in God's own image," below the level of the brute.

After crossing the ferry, and traversing Zane's Island and the bridge beyond it, we ascended the hills of Ohio for a mile or two, and got fairly into the undulated surface of the eastern part of the State. We found a great many ravines, formed by descending torrents, but the road was carried over these by embankments, well secured with good stone parapets, and in many instances reposing on stone bridges with several arches, and executed in better taste, and of more substantial masonry, than we had seen elsewhere. The quantity of cleared land, in proportion to the whole area, was greater than I had been prepared to expect; though the clearings were evidently recent, as the stumps of the trees that had been felled were yet remaining in the soil. The road, which is macadamized throughout, and as good as any public road in England, has not been made here more than ten years, but it has already changed the forest, through which it was originally cut, into a cultivated tract; because the certain permanency of the road, being a great national work, induced settlers to prefer lands near to it, and accordingly towns and villages have grown up with rapidity all along its line.

The constant succession of hill and valley in our route was complained of as an evil by most of our

companions, who had no perception of the beautiful in landscape; indeed, this absence of taste for the sublime and beautiful in Nature, appears to be a national characteristic, as visible in the more educated and opulent classes, as in the humbler and poorer. This is a misfortune to any people, because it is the privation of one important source of exquisite and innocent enjoyment; but it is especially so to a people whose magnificent country is so rich in scenes of the greatest beauty and grandeur, by which such a taste could be so easily and so constantly gratified. We were impressed at every new point of view with the charming landscapes presented in every direction, and thought the undulated and variegated surface of the country more beautiful than anything we had yet seen in the Union, excepting only the autumnal richness of the hills of Vermont, the freshness and grandeur of the mountain-ranges of Virginia, the exquisite loveliness of Buncomb county in North Carolina, and the sublime scenery of Tuloola, in the elevated regions of Georgia. The scenes here, however, had more of the associations of fertility and civilization connected with them, than either of those I have named, which derived their principal charms from the wildness of Nature.

It was somewhat too early in the spring to see the country to the greatest advantage, because the general mass of the forest-trees were yet without the slightest indication of budding forth into leaf. It was only the willows, and the few earlier shrubs and plants, that presented any appearance of foliage, but the grass was beautifully green; some patches

of early wheat showed the blade a few inches above the surface ; and the orchards, of which there were a great number in every direction, were in full bloom, the apple, the peach, and the plum being the most numerous. There were other beautiful flowering trees, which gave great richness to the picture. The most prominent of these was the *Cercis Canadensis*, or red-bud, which bears a full supply of splendid flowers, not unlike the peach-blossom, but of a much deeper red. Of these beautiful trees, we saw often twenty or thirty in a group. More rarely, the *Cornus Florida*, or dog-wood tree, was also seen, opening sometimes its white, and sometimes its yellow flowers, for it presents these two varieties, but contrasting beautifully with the flowers of the red-bud, the blossoms of the fruit trees, and the light fresh green of the willows, the poplars, and the few other early trees just beginning to expand their leaves.

In the course of our journey from Wheeling to Zanesville, we found the road admirable all the way, as good indeed as the road from London to Bath, as far, I mean, as the road itself would bear comparison ; but the country was much more hilly. To us, indeed, who had been jolted and shaken, plunged and precipitated, over the rough roads and deep pits, the rocky hills and corduroy causeways, of the various other States, in which we had seen and felt them in all their disagreeable varieties, it was no ordinary luxury to travel on this smooth and equable National Road, where we were driven at an uniform rate of about seven miles an hour, making good the whole distance of 74 miles, includ-

ing stoppages for meals and changing horses, in about 12 hours. Here, for the first time in America, also, we had a guard to take care of the passengers' baggage, and a range of seats behind the driver for four outside-passengers.

The towns and villages were so numerous on this line of road, that our longest stage was only 12 miles, and several were only 6. The towns through which we passed, at these and intermediate distances, were St. Clairsville, Morristown, Fairview, Middletown, Washington, Cambridge, and Norwich; and from directing-posts, leading to roads branching off from our track, we found we were in the immediate vicinity of Antrim, Gottingen, and Egypt, for such were the names of the villages to which these cross-roads led. In all the towns we saw, however, we thought there was more of substantiality, neatness, and cleanliness, than we had observed in any towns of similar size in the country. A love of flowers, and an attempt to adorn the fronts of their dwellings with flowering shrubs and creepers, was more prevalent here than we had observed it elsewhere; and the dresses and persons of the people we saw were neater and cleaner than is usual among the same class generally. Our first impressions of Ohio, as a State, were therefore most favourable; as we admired its landscape-beauty, were impressed with its agricultural capacity, and thought its roads, its towns, and its people, among the best specimens we had seen of either in the whole Union.

Our companions, however, from their conversation, reminded us that we were approaching the

West, in which, among the men especially, considerable roughness, mixed with a coarse wit, tinged with gross exaggeration, and rude originality, is to be frequently met with. One of these was the Sheriff of the County of Muskingum, in which Zanesville is seated, who was returning from Baltimore, where he had been for the eighteenth year in succession to purchase supplies of goods for the spring-trade, and was now returning to his home. The office of Sheriff in the counties of the State is filled by any person whom the people of the county may choose to elect to it,the suffrage being universal, and the election for two years. The office is worth about 1,500 dollars, or 300*l.* sterling, a year, and is generally filled by some member of the legal profession, but sometimes by persons in trade, and the present Sheriff was one of this class. He was a man of no education, but great shrewdness, and of a volubility that carried everything before it like a torrent. He had the art, too, in great perfection, of elevating his voice to the requisite pitch, when the coach rumbled over a newly-made rough patch of repair in the road, of lowering it again at the cessation of the noise, and of sinking it to the gentlest tones when the coach stopped. But as to cessation, there was none ; and sometimes for a full hour on the stretch, it would appear that he had never halted long enough to mark the pause of a comma, or even to draw breath. His discourse, indeed, was like a legal deed, in which there are no stops ; and he accounted to us for the loudness of his voice, as well as for the ceaseless flow of his words, by saying, that though he was born in the

woods, he had worked for a long time in a mill, and supposed he had caught the infection of its continued noise and clatter! In politics he was a Van Buren man, and thought very little of General Harrison, under whom he said he had served as a soldier; and though he believed the General to be an honest and well-meaning man, and not deficient in courage, he considered him wholly unfit for the Presidency, partly from physical feebleness, as he was now nearly seventy years of age and indisposed to exertion, but still more from his feebleness of mind, and want of vigorous capacity. The General had been already twice beaten in this, his own State of Ohio, once as candidate for Governor of the State, and once as Vice-President of the Union, and at periods comparatively recent; since which, he had presented no new claims to preference, and therefore he thought his success now very problematical. As Sheriff of the County, he had good opportunities of knowing the feeling of the farmers, and he thought the large majority of this class in favour of Democracy and Van Buren.

Others of our companions varied the political conversation by the exercise of their wit, in the exaggerated strain so characteristic of Western manners. The unhealthy condition of some of the Western rivers, the Illinois in particular, was the subject of their discourse; when one asserted, that he had known a man to be so dreadfully afflicted with the ague, from sleeping in the fall on its banks, that he shook to such a degree as to shake all the teeth out of his head. This was matched by another, who said there was a man from his State, who had

gone to the Illinois to settle, and the ague seized him so terribly hard, that he shook all his clothes from his body, and could not keep a garment whole, for it unravelled the very web, thread by thread, till it was all destroyed! The climax was capped, however, by the declaration of a third, that a friend of his who had settled on the banks of the Illinois, and built a most comfortable dwelling for himself and family, was seized with an ague, which grew worse and worse, until its fits became so violent, that they at length shook the whole house about his ears, and buried him in its ruins! Such is the kind of wit in which the Western people especially delight, and which the Southern and Western newspapers feed and encourage, by racking their invention for the supply of new extravaganzas. This taste, indeed, infuses itself into grave and regular business, of which here is a ludicrous example, cut out of a St. Louis paper at Zanesville—

"LIGHT UP! LIGHT UP!!—Those persons who choose light in preference to darkness, or cleanliness to grease and smoke, and who wish to contribute to the cause of Temperance, by destroying the destroyer [alcohol] in a laudable way, can be accommodated in good style with gas lamps, and a *leetle* the best light in all creation, by WEBB, CHAPIN, & RIDGLY,

March 12. 51, Locust Street.

CHAP. XIII.

Description of the town on the river Muskingum—First foundation of Zanesville — Subsequent increase — Population — Churches — State House — Athenæum — Cotton Factories— Iron Founderies and Gass Works—Munificent endowment of the M'Intire Institute—Ample provision for public schools in Zanesville—Interesting fossil remains found near the town— Tropical plants, fishes, and coal formations—Fossil human skeletons found in Kentucky and Ohio—Detention by heavy rains at Zanesville—Imperfect protection in American stage-coaches—Contrast of Oriental nations with Americans—Exhibition of new fire-engine in procession—Share taken by boys in most public exhibitions.

We remained at Zanesville four days, and were much pleased with the town and neighbourhood. Like almost all other places in the United States, the situation chosen for the site of the town is admirable; being just on a peninsula formed by a sharp bend of the river Muskingum, at the point where it receives the tributary waters of the river Licking, so as to give it a margin of water-front of the greatest extent. On the level portion of this peninsula, stands Zanesville; and on the opposite side of the Muskingum is seated the smaller towns of Putnam and West Zanesville, connected by two closed wooden bridges, one of which is double, and forming, from

the facility of intercourse, valuable suburbs to the larger town. The view of the whole from the grassy hill that overhangs Putnam, presents a beautiful picture, not unlike that of Pittsburgh, on a smaller scale, but free from the volumes of smoke which blacken that "City of Soot," and cast such a sable shroud over its beauties.

The river Muskingum (pronounced with the accent on the second syllable) rises within 30 miles from the southern edge of Lake Erie, and passes southerly and south-westerly through the State of Ohio till it reaches Zanesville, where it bends away south-easterly, till it unites itself with the Ohio river at Marietta. Its Indian name means "The Elk's Eye," which was given to it from the clearness of its waters. In its northern half it passes through or near the towns of Canton, Moscow, and Calcutta, and not far from this last is Zoar; so that in the nomenclature of this limited area, the founders of the several places mentioned, have drawn on China, Russia, Hindostan, and Palestine, for the names of their respective settlements! Of Zoar, which is a co-operative community, on the principle of Mr. Rapp's settlement at Economy, the following particulars are furnished as authentic. This town was originally settled by a company of Germans, who put their property into common stock, with a patriarch at their head. They came over and purchased the township about 1820. One of the conditions of the compact was, that no one of the associates should marry until their affairs had arrived at such a state of maturity that the patriarch should think it expedient to remove the restraint. In the space

of fifteen years, they had built a town, cultivated gardens and fields, erected a church, mills, &c. Of school-houses they had no need, for there was not a child in the town. A gentleman who spent a Sabbath with them in 1834, says, the patriarch, then about seventy years of age, read a portion of the Bible, and then delivered an address, in German of course. The music was very fine, and accompanied with all sorts of instruments. The company consisted of about 250 men, and a still larger number of women. There was no reason to doubt that the agreement of celibacy had been faithfully kept; but about a year afterwards the patriarch removed the restraint, and was one of the first to use the liberty he had granted.

On the river Hockhocking, which is said to mean, in the Indian language, the Bottle river, and which empties itself into the Ohio, a little below the mouth of the Muskingum, there are seated the towns of Athens and Troy; so that there are no want of classical names in this State, where they are almost as abundant as in the State of New York.

The plan of the town of Zanesville is very regular; the streets broad, placed at right angles, and with excellent side-pavements, bordered with trees, many of them fruit trees, now in full blossom. The stores are large and substantial buildings of brick and stone, the hotels are better than those of country towns generally, and many of the private dwellings are unusually pretty, with neat and well-trimmed gardens around them.

Zanesville was first laid out in 1799, and a few log-cabins built here, by the founder, Ebenezer

Zane, a celebrated hunter in these forests, who had three sections of land, of 640 acres each, granted to him by the State of Ohio, for marking out a bridle track, on the line from Wheeling westward, across this State, now constituting the national road, which was then a dense forest. He chose his three sections in three different quarters of the State, each on a separate river; and on each a fine town now stands. Zanesville, on the Muskingum; Lancaster, on the Hockhocking; and Chilicothe, on the Scioto river; about 50 miles apart from each other, and each now containing from 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants.

The advantages of Zanesville are very great; as it possesses, in its immediate neighbourhood, abundance of iron and coal; great water-power in the rapids of its river; ample supplies of free-stone, limestone, and water-lime; salt springs in great numbers; and clay, said to be equal to any now in use in England, Germany, or France, for the manufacture of the finest earthenware. These advantages, with its position on the National Road, the intercourse on which must every year increase, can hardly fail to make Zanesville a large and populous city before many years are passed.

The present number of inhabitants, including Putnam and West Zanesville, across the river, is about 12,000. The number of churches is 7; namely, 1 Episcopal, 1 Presbyterian, 1 Episcopal Methodist, 1 Radical Methodist, 1 Lutheran, and 2 Baptist. There is also a Court House, which was formerly the Hall of Legislation, as the State Government made this its capital, before it was

removed to Columbus, from its being in the centre of the State. There is an Athenæum adjoining it, with a good library and reading-room, a library of 10,000 volumes, and a highly interesting collection of minerals and fossils from the neighbourhood. To this establishment all persons not resident in the town, have free admission; but as the habits of visitors, as well as residents, are well known, it has been thought necessary to affix a placard, in large letters, in front of the stove of the library, containing this injunction—"Gentlemen are requested not to spit on the floors or on the walls."

There is a cotton factory here, worked by steam-power; three woollen factories, two rope-walks, several paper-mills and saw-mills, a brass foundery, and a large number of iron founderies, and glass works. There are four weekly newspapers, two Whig and two Democratic; and an excellent public school, with a very large endowment, in a fund of 300,000 dollars. This was left by one of the earliest settlers here, a Mr. M'Intire, a friend and companion of Zane, who was the proprietor of many of the first building-lots in the town; and the increase in their value was such, by the increase of population, that at the time of his death they were worth more than a hundred times their original cost! He died, leaving a widow and an only daughter; and left his estate to be equally divided between them for their lives, and to their heirs, if they left any; but provided, that in the event of their both dying childless, the whole of the estate should form a fund for endowing a public school for the gratuitous education of children. The daughter is dead,

without having left any child; and the widow, who is very old, will also die without leaving any claimant: 150,000 dollars are therefore already in possession of the trustees named in the will; and the other 150,000 dollars will soon be added to it; so that a permanent fund, equal to £60,000 sterling at present, and increasing in value every year, as it is still in land, and sites of houses, will be available for the education of children in Zanesville alone. In addition to this, there is a large common school, erecting by the funds of the State, which will accommodate 400 boys, to be taught through the year, all the rudiments of an ordinary education, at the low rate of 2 dollars per quarter; and there are several select or private schools, for the education of girls in the town and neighbourhood.

Near Zanesville, a great number of interesting fossil remains are found, of which my son made a large collection, by a day's active search along the banks of the canal, which had been cut through a bed of sandstone rock some years since, and thus exposed these hidden treasures. The people here feel no interest whatever in such relics of earlier ages; and therefore large quantities of these remains lie scattered almost unheeded. They are chiefly though not entirely vegetable, and mostly of tropical trees and plants; some shells and fishes are also found among them. Among the specimens we obtained were those of the bamboo-cane, of the Oriental palm-tree, of the cedar-cane, and of ferns; with several fossil shells. One piece was peculiarly interesting, as exhibiting the process by which wood is converted into coal. The outer portion of this piece

was rough bark, like that of the common pine of the Southern States, nearly fossilized; the inner coating next beyond this had its woody or fibrous texture scarcely changed, and the interior part within this, constituting the heart of the tree, was highly charred, or carbonized, as if by the operation of fire, and possessed all the compactness, solidity, and shining appearance of ordinary coal. On the subject of these fossil remains, the following passages from Atwater's History of Ohio, may be appropriately given here:—

"Near Zanesville—indeed, in the very town—where a canal was cut through the sandstone rock, some twenty years since, there was found, among other things, a considerable number of tropical plants, such as the trunks, leaves, branches, and roots of the bamboo; the leaves, large, full, fresh, uninjured, and entire, of cocoanut-bearing palms; the impressions of the tea-leaf, and of the cassia plant; of ferns a great many; as well as of the leaves and flowers of the bread-fruit tree—fully expanded, fresh, and entire; perfectly uninjured, and in appearance as if they were in full bloom. The bark also of the bread-fruit tree, much flattened and compressed, we found in shale. The sandstone, in which these tropical plants lie imbedded, contains considerable mica, and resembles exactly the sandstone in which Monsieur Brequiart found tropical plants in France. The iron-stone at Zanesville is composed almost wholly of the roots, trunks, and leaves of the bamboo. The sandstone contains the same tree, and its parts. Small trees are often much flattened by pressure. The shale sometimes contains barks of trees, between different layers of shale; the bark is now fossil coal; and these layers alternate with each other—shale and coal. Among the fishes found entire in the sandstone, one resembled a pike, and the other a perch." P. 32.

The same writer states, that human skeletons had been found in a fossil state, both in Ohio and Ken-

tucky. In the latter, a perfect human skeleton was dug out of a stone mound, 200 feet below the surface, where also were many fossil bones, all of which were seen by the Hon. Judge Todd, of the United States Court, who gave his testimony to that effect; but this being twenty years since, when but little importance was attached to such a discovery by the people who made it, the skeleton was soon disregarded, and either lost or destroyed. About eighteen years ago, Mr. Atwater states, there were also found, about a quarter of a mile north of Circleville, on the Scioto river, in Ohio, no less than seven human skeletons. These skeletons, he says, lay among earth and pebbles, evidently brought there and left by water—the sea. They lay in every inclination with the horizon, and were deposited by the Deluge where they were found.

One of the most extraordinary discoveries of fossil remains, however, is given in a recent journal of Boston, as communicated in a letter of Professor Hitchcock, to the Editor, of which the following are extracts:

"Some of your readers may be gratified if I mention a discovery of some scientific interest which I have made within a few years past; they have all doubtless heard of those minute living beings discovered by the microscope in stagnant water, &c., and called *animalculæ*—millions of which may live in a single drop. But, until very recently, who would have supposed it possible that the skeletons of these animals would be found preserved in the soils and rocks! Yet there is a white and light substance very common in Massachusetts, beneath the mud in swamps, which I find to be full of these fossil skeletons. And it is curious that if care be taken in placing the substance beneath the microscope, these

skeletons will generally be found to be entire, although so thin that the light passes through them so as to render them almost invisible. The only species I have yet noticed, had the shape of the common *angle worm* or *earth worm*, and it would take hundreds of thousands of them, probably millions, to make up a cubic inch. Yet the deposite that contains them is probably two-thirds composed of their remains, and in many places it forms a stratum several feet thick, covering many acres, and may be found, I doubt not, in every town in the State. I happen to have specimens only from Andover, Bridgewater, Barre, and Pelham, all of which contain the relics.

"In Europe it has been recently found, that several rocks of considerable thickness, (among which are flint and opal) are made up chiefly of animalculæ. Indeed, the famous Prussian naturalist, Bhrenburg, has determined 28 fossil species, nine of which are extinct, and the others corresponding to the living species. Of these is the polishing *Slate*, (a species of rotten-stone.) Ehrenberg says, 'About 23,000,000 of these creatures would make up a cubic line, and in a cubic inch there would be 41,000,000—weighing 220 grains; the silicious shield of each animalculæ weighs about the one hundred and eighty-seven millionth part of a grain! The fossil animalculæ of the iron-ochre is only the twenty-first part of the thickness of the human hair; and one cubic inch of this ochre must contain *one billion* of the skeletons of living beings!"

We were detained from the prosecution of our journey onward to Columbus, by three days of the heaviest and most incessant rain that we had ever before seen in the United States. It was like the rains on the setting-in of the monsoon in Bengal—accompanied with thunder and lightning, and a peculiarly heavy and sultry atmosphere; during all the time of its falling, the streets had a constant torrent running through them, so as to render them almost impassable. The American stage-coaches are so imperfectly closed against the weather, that

travelling in them in heavy rains is peculiarly disagreeable. Several of those passing through here had no other protection all round than loose curtains, to let down or draw up, as might be required; so that, with nine inside passengers, you have to choose between keeping the curtains up, and getting wet through, or letting them down, and excluding all light and air. One of these, which stopped at our hotel door, was called "The Accommodation,"—though it seemed to have slight claims to such a name—for in addition to the feature just described, it had the peculiarity which I had not witnessed before, of possessing no door to open on either side; but passengers got in and out through the open space, above the lower panelling, by a wooden stool being placed on the pavement to step on—like getting in through the window of an English coach when the door should be shut. The reason assigned for this was two-fold —economy in the making the coach, as it saved hinges, folding-steps, and door-handles—and saving of labour in opening and shutting the door after passengers! One of the largest stage-coaches we had yet seen, passed here—also on its way to Columbus. It was called "The Great Western," and carried twelve passengers inside, on four benches, or rows of seats, and five outside—four in front, behind the driver's box, on the roof, and one beside the driver. This was a strong and well-built vehicle; but, like all the other coaches on the road, most imperfectly protected against the weather, with canvass curtains to roll up and let down, instead of fixed pannels and glass sashes; and the roofs of these coaches as frequently let in water as the sides, so as to make them

most uncomfortable conveyances in cold or wet weather.

We regretted our detention here the more, because the hotel was one of the most disagreeable in which we had been for some time, though the proprietors were unusually civil and polite to us personally. In addition to all the common defects, of crowded bedrooms, with four beds, and sometimes eight persons occupying them, in one room—two men, perfect strangers to each other, frequently sleep in the same bed—no bells in any room of the house—broken panes of glass, and floors rarely scoured or swept—there was in this hotel (though said to be the best in Zanesville) the worst set of servants, that were perhaps ever got together under the same roof—filthy in their persons, rude in their manners, and ignorant of everything which it was their duty to know. The hours of meals were most inconveniently early—6 o'clock for breakfast, 12 o'clock for dinner, and 6 for supper; the permanent boarders and passengers at table, often 100 in number, of a class not superior in appearance nor equal in manners to the humblest mechanics in England; the fare coarse and common, and all the table-service of the rudest kind—while the noise and rapidity with which the operation of eating was carried through, far surpassed all our previous experience; and gave us very unpleasant premonitory symptoms of what is called "Life in the West."

It would often happen, that the persons sitting near us, would take their seats after we had begun, and in five minutes would have devoured a large plate of meat, a smaller plate of fruit tart—and

flinging down the knife and fork, rise, whisk round the chair, and retire—eating their last mouthful as they went along—giving to it, indeed, the only mastication for which there was any time during the whole meal. No one appeared to sit longer than ten minutes; and at a quarter-past 12, there was rarely a single person left at the table but ourselves. This is another of the customs of the Americans, to which no length of time could reconcile me; and I confess that I feel more and more repugnance to it, the longer I am subject to its exhibition. If one could obtain private rooms, and a private table, as in most other countries, we might escape the evil; but in the greater number of cases this is impossible:—and where it is done, besides being heavily paid for, it is made so much a favour, that it is vain afterwards to find fault with anything; as you are told, that you had better go back to the public table, since they have already put themselves to great inconvenience to give you a separate accommodation—but they do not like the practice, and would rather not follow it. Indeed, they are so in the habit of seeing every one eat, without a murmur, whatever is put before them —and so unused to complaint or remonstrance of any kind—that whenever the gentlest hint is given, as to anything being less perfect than it might be—their pride is touched, their anger inflamed; and the person *daring* to suggest that anything is wrong, will be certain to fare the worse, instead of the better, for his presumption. The absolute and irresponsible power of the innkeepers in the United States, is undoubtedly one of the paradoxical phenomena of this free country, which it is difficult to explain.

In travelling among the Turks, the Persians, the Arabs, and the Egyptians—inferior as all these are to the Americans in general civilization—I never remember to have felt the perpetual disgust which some portions of the manners of the men of this country creates. All these nations exercise a degree of hospitality towards strangers, which in this country is certainly much more rare. The traveller, though of a different country, and of a different faith, is invited to their houses, to their tables, and to their gardens. Great pains are taken to know what will be acceptable or agreeable to him, in food, or drink, or entertainment—the dishes, though simple, are well dressed, clean, hot, and of delicate flavour—the meal is eaten deliberately; and at its close, the parties remain to enjoy their coffee, their sherbet, their perfumes, and their conversation. The association is not purely and exclusively for the purpose of eating every man his fill, and then hurrying off as if it were a party of hogs or cattle driven together to feed from the same trough; but it is a *social* union as well; where conversation, interchange of compliment, mutual inquiries and reciprocal communications, are often extended to an hour or more after the meal is finished. Here, however, the invitation of the stranger, though of the same faith and same language, to *dine* with the resident American, is, I believe, more rare than in any country under the sun; at least more so than any through which I have ever travelled; and the meal is so far from being social, that it is a rare thing, at any of the public tables in the hotels, either among the permanent boarders, who live the year through together, or

among persons coming from the same town, or from opposite quarters, to hear a word spoken on any subject: everybody seeming to be in the utmost possible haste to allay his hunger, and then withdraw, as if the sitting there a moment longer than this, was a penance which he was unwilling to undergo.

During our stay at Zanesville, a new fire-engine arrived from Philadelphia, costing 1,600 dollars, and with expense of transport and fittings, making it nearly 2,000 dollars. A parade or display of this was made through the town. There are no people more fond of processions, and this was a tempting occasion. First came the old engine, the only one previously in the town, which was drawn through the streets by about 100 stout and fine-looking young men, having their ordinary working dresses, with badges of the fire company on their hats. The new engine followed, (and it was really a very highly ornamented and beautiful piece of workmanship) drawn by about an equal number of men, with different badges on their hats; and lastly, the new hose, on wheels, drawn by about 50 young men. There was more uniformity, discipline, order, and efficiency among these 200 firemen than in any of the companies I had seen in New York, and they formed a favourable specimen of the young men of this State. But, as in this country, the boys must have some share in all such processions, an old and small engine was drawn after the whole by about 70 or 80 urchins, from 7 to 10 years old, who made noise enough for all, and scattered their streams right and left, to their own great amusement, though to the great annoyance of the passers-by; yet no one ventured to restrain them.

CHAP. XIV.

Departure from Zanesville — Sultry weather — Beauty of the foliage, flowers, and scenery—National Road, how constructed and kept in repair—Fertile lands—Emigrant families going West—Disadvantages under which emigrants labour—Instances of emigrant success—English and German—Remarkable progress of the Co-operatives at Zoar — Signs on the road — "Accommodation for Moovers" — Singular nomenclature of American towns—Exhibition of the militia on parade—New organization of the militia for war—Hebron—Level country —Entry into Columbus, and stay there.

On the morning of Saturday, the 25th of April, we left Zanesville, in the stage for Columbus. The weather was excessively hot—as hot as it ever is in England in the hottest days of July or August; and the excessive fall of rain which had taken place within the last three days, made the atmosphere damp, heavy, and oppressive. As we advanced into the country, however, the prospect on all sides was fresh, green, and beautiful; and the expanding leaves of the forest-trees, chiefly tall oaks, of which there are not less than 26 different species in this single State alone, the constant succession of the red-bud and dog-wood, with their crimson, white, and yellow flowers, and the songs of the birds, rejoicing in all the full enjoyment of the spring, made our progress easy and agreeable.

PLATE IX

G. F. Richardson

We still continued to travel on the National Road, which is intended to extend all the way from the Atlantic States to St. Louis, beyond the Mississippi. The general Government defrays the expense of first making the road, by appropriations made out of the general revenue by Congress; and as soon as any considerable portion of it is finished, it is then handed over to the Legislature of the State through which it passes, leaving to it only the cost of keeping it in repair, which is done by the collectors of tolls, at gates placed at distances of ten miles apart, throughout the whole of the way. This principle seems an excellent one; for the general Government thus to incur the first cost of works of this description, and leave their preservation only to the separate States —because, in a line of road extending, as this will do when finished, over more than 800 miles of distance, the scanty population of the districts through which it passes, could not possibly incur the first cost of making the road, the burden would be so heavy on them; but once made for them, they could easily, by a system of light tolls, keep it in perfect repair; and I must say, a better road than the one on which we were now travelling, could not be found in England.

The surface of the country, after passing Zanesville, grows less and less hilly, though it is still slightly undulated for some 30 miles west, but after that it becomes a perfect level. It is everywhere rich and fertile; and for fine farms it would seem impossible to make a selection of better tracts of land than here continually present themselves.* It occurred

* The annexed View will give an accurate idea of the Agricultural Districts here described.

to me continually, at the sight of the rich ploughed lands—the extensive fields of young green wheat—and the fine pasture-lands, where oxen and sheep were grazing—that if the great agricultural peers of England, the late Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Leicester, and Earl Spencer, could but be driven across the State of Ohio, at this season of the year, they would be tempted to buy up large tracts of land, for investment; and, with the improvements which their zeal, capital, and skill would give to such tracts, they would be worth, in ten years' time, more than twenty times their original cost; which varies here from 10 to 20 dollars an acre, according to position and extent of clearing—the fertility being pretty nearly equal throughout the whole of the State.

On the road we overtook and passed a great number of waggons, perhaps 50, in the course of the day, containing emigrant families going still further West—to Indiana and Illinois, where land may still be had at one dollar and a quarter per acre. It is therefore worth while for them to make long journeys, and hoard up their resources, to put themselves in possession of an estate large enough for the whole family, if they will only go far west enough to get it at a cheap price. Of these emigrant families, there were often 12 or 15 persons in each, many of them very young children; a covered waggon, drawn sometimes by two horses, though frequently by one only, contained all the household furniture, and provisions for the way; and the women and young children were piled upon these. The men and the elder boys walked beside the waggon—and they made a journey of from 12 to 15 miles a day. During the

way they would halt at any favourable spot that presented itself, unharness the horse, and let it loose to graze in the woods, while the parents and children would get their utensils for preparing a meal, or be engaged in washing, drying, and mending their clothes by the wayside. These scenes impressed me more and more with the desirability and importance of some great international and well-organized system of cheap and expeditious transport for emigrant settlers passing from Europe to the interior of this vast country—such as I ventured to suggest in a former chapter. (See page 8.) At this slow and costly rate of travel, by which so many families were creeping on their way to their ultimate place of destination, the expenses would exhaust more than half of the little means with which they left their home, and consume the most valuable portion of a year in time and labour; whereas, by such a plan of transport as that before adverted to, both these great evils might be avoided, and many more families be enabled to seek this mode of escape from their difficulties in the densely-peopled countries of Europe, who now find it impossible to move at all from the place of their misery, and who therefore pine away and die on the spot that gave them birth, but which denied them sustenance and a fair reward for their labour.

Two pleasing instances were mentioned to me, of the complete success which had attended two recent emigrant parties—one composed of English, the other of German settlers. The English party came out about ten years ago—settled in Illinois, on the edge of the Prairies—were all poor: not having

100*l.* among the whole number—about 20 families; and they are now substantial farmers and graziers, worth probably, it was said, 2,000 dollars each individual, or 10,000 dollars for each family. This had arisen partly from the unexpected discovery of a rich vein of coal in the tract they had purchased, and from the rise in the value of all their property; but their industry and perseverance had achieved the greater portion of their wealth, and good fortune had only augmented it.

The other instance mentioned, was that of the German Settlement at Zoar, in this State of Ohio, not more than 70 miles from Zanesville. These came out about 12 years ago, under a German leader named Bimeler, having separated themselves from the Lutheran Church, and determined to form a Co-operative Community, like that of Mr. Rapp, at Economy. Their poverty was such that they were barely able to defray the expenses of their journey to the spot where they settled; and they were accordingly obliged to borrow money for even the purchase of their lands, leaving these in mortgage for the amount. They have now, by industry and frugality, long since paid all their debts, and added some thousands of acres to their original possession, having a neat and well-built town of about 80 dwelling-houses, a community of about 400 persons, several manufactories, rich fields of grain, extensive herds of cattle, and a conservatory, or hot-house, in which they rear the tropical fruits in their greatest perfection—and from which they supply the wealthy families of the surrounding country with rare fruits and flowers,—and with hot-house plants, which they send out for

the summer, and take them back again to nurse and protect during the severe cold of the winter. Their cows are kept chiefly in the stall, and fed on turnips and the cake of the oil-mills, and yield from 15 to 20 quarts of milk every day throughout the year. Their stables are carefully washed out every morning, and the water is preserved for the purpose of being used on the roots of their fruit-trees, which contributes greatly to their perfect growth and flavour. These fortunate and successful results, as seen in the present condition of Economy and Zoar, cannot fail to serve as examples, and to increase the number of Co-operative Communities in this country. Indeed, had it not been for the failure of Mr. Owen's experiment at New Harmony, arising from causes wholly foreign to the co-operative principle, they would no doubt have been more numerous before this.

Among the indications of this being the high road for emigrants to the west, we saw several houses by the road-side, expressly for their use, with the signs "Moovers' Accommodation,"—others with more correct orthography, had "House for Movers,"—and a third had the rather ambiguous words, "Movers taken in here." At the same time, while the movers were going onward, settlers were clearing and planting all along the edge of the road. We saw perhaps 100 log-cabins in our day's ride,—some not a week old, and others in the act of putting up. The ground was strewed with the trunks of trees just felled; some of which were cut into short pieces, and piled up in heaps to be set fire to, and others were rolled out into the ditches of the road, to rot there by the alternations of heat and moisture; the great object

seeming to be to get rid of them in the speediest way possible.

I could not but regret that there was not some law or regulation obliging those who cleared their lands by the public road, to leave at least one row of trees, standing on each side the highway, to afford shade, shelter, and beauty, as in the boulevards of Paris. By such a regulation as this, every public road might have been thus bordered with the largest and finest trees, not only without expense, but at the saving of labour to the person clearing his land, and to his own evident advantage. And if, in addition to this, the practice could even now be introduced, of leaving rows of trees to mark the boundaries between the different fields, instead of the ragged and unpicturesque fence and zig-zag rails, it would add much to the beauty of the cleared spots, and render it more easy to elevate mounds of soil for hedge-rows from tree to tree, giving that happy mixture of tree and shrub, of bush and flower, which adds so much to the loveliness of an English landscape. At present, nothing can be more uninviting than the rude log-cabins, with the mass of fallen trunks of trees around them, and the total absence of all cleanliness, neatness, or taste, in the habitations or people; and yet, all these might be added, if the disposition to enjoy them existed, without trenching unduly on the time requisite for labour.

At the houses of entertainment on the road, the names of the keepers were mostly Scotch and Irish. The most frequent sign, was that of "The Rising Sun;" but there were others purely English, such as "The Cross Keys" and "The Black Lion." One son

of the Emerald Isle, who had set up a tavern, had united the emblems of Ireland and America in one, having for his sign, an Irish harp, with the American eagle perched on the top of it, holding a riband in its beak, on which was painted the word "Liberty;" and one house kept by an Englishman was named "Whitehall."

We changed horses and made a short halt at a village called Jacksontown, one of about 30 places in this single State, incorporating the name of the late President, General Jackson. There are a still greater number of places called after Commodore Perry, who was as successful in his naval victories on Lake Erie, as General Jackson had been in the land battle of New Orleans; and of Jefferson's there are also 20. But in the borrowing of names of persons for towns, and the multiplication of favourite ones of old and celebrated cities and places, the Americans are certainly unrivalled. In Ohio alone are 3 Cantons, 3 Perus, and 3 Petersburghs, 7 Goshens, 5 Canaans, 4 Palestines, 16 Salems, 1 London, 7 Parises, 2 Palmyras, and 1 Paradise.

At Jacksontown we found the militia all out for exercise; and, though few in number, making a respectable display. Here, as in other parts of the country, the militia system was until very lately in great disrepute; as it took men from their labour, to devote themselves to parade and exercise for several days in the year, without any remuneration, and did little or nothing in improving them for action or evolution. Till lately, therefore, great pains were taken by all classes to bring ridicule on the system, by men coming to parade in grotesque dresses, and uncouth

weapons; and turning their officers' orders into jest and mockery. Of late, however, since General Harrison has become the Whig candidate for the presidency, the military spirit has a great deal revived; and as the military claims of the General, as the hero of the Thames, and of Tippecanoe, two of his successful battles, are pressed forward on every occason, so his adherents do all they can to raise military prowess in general estimation, and make military displays popular. The talk of probable war with England, has its share also in infusing a new taste for these exercises among the people; and the measures taking at Washington for a new system of reorganization for the militia, makes it a topic of common conversation, and thus adds to the general excitement on the subject. The following is given out as the heads of the new system for the militia:

"An enrolment is to be made of all the male white citizens of the United States, between the ages of twenty and forty-five—all of whom are required to be fully armed and equipped, inspected, and reviewed within their respective States, whenever required by the State laws. From the mass of the militia thus enrolled, and numbering a million and a half, there is to be taken, in each State and Territory, such number, by draft or voluntary enlistment, between the ages of 21 and 37, as will make up a force not exceeding 100,000 men, in equitable proportions for each State and Territory. This force is to be denominated the ACTIVE or MOVEABLE force.—Another class is to be organized under the name of the *reserve* or *sedentary* force; and the order of precedence between the army of the United States and the militia, and between the several classes of the militia, with one another, is to be thus:—1. Troops of the United States, 2. Militia of the United States, in the order of—1. The ACTIVE force. 2. The SEDENTARY force. 3. The MASS.—When called out, the

militia are to be subject to the same rules and articles of war as the regular troops of the United States; but no detachment can be required to serve more than six months in any one year. While in actual service, their pay and rations are to be those of the troops of the regular army; and in case of death or wounds, they, or their widows, are to be placed on the same footing, as to pensions, with soldiers killed or wounded in the regular service. The whole country, for the convenience of instruction and discipline, is to be divided into ten districts, and proper regulations are to be made as to the instruction of officers and men."

It may be expected, therefore, that when the new organization is fully completed, the dormant passion of the Americans for military glory, which it requires only a newly-kindled spark to revive, will burst into a widely-spread flame; and it will be fortunate if it does not produce any greater evil than the love of military parade, and the display of military trappings.

From one of our passengers, who joined us on the road, and who was recently from Virginia, we learnt that the political agents of General Harrison had been actively employed for several weeks in manufacturing freehold voters for the Presidential Candidate, by selling certain barren and worthless lands in that State, (where a freehold qualification is required of every voter) at the rate of 5 cents an acre. He declared that he had seen several persons who had purchased lots of 50 acres for two and a half dollars, or ten shillings sterling, and had them regularly conveyed to them by proper deeds of sale; though the parties themselves seemed to understand that the privilege of voting was more the object of the transfer than the value of the lands; for

they expressed their doubts whether, if they made the search, they should be able to find them. This gentleman, who furnished the information, was himself a Whig, and an advocate of General Harrison; and he defended this practice, on the ground that the Democrats took every corrupt step they could to forward their views, and the Whigs were obliged to fight them with their own weapons. The relative purity of these political parties here, seems, therefore, to be very much on a par with that of the two contending factions of Whigs and Tories in England; each protesting against the bribery and corruption of the other; yet each practising both, whenever the opportunity seems favourable to them.

At noon we halted at Hebron, a new and thriving town, to dine; and great was the indignation of one of the passengers at learning that the charge for dinner was half a dollar, a price which the individual declared she had never heard of—so extravagant did it seem to her eyes! We learnt, from the conversation that ensued, that when a person travels along the road, in his own vehicle, or on horseback, the charge for bed and board is only half that which is demanded of all stage-coach passengers, and the reason assigned for the distinction is this:—when independent travellers find they are charged too heavily at any house once, they stop short, or pass on to some other, and do not repeat their visit; but stage-passengers cannot go to any other house than that at which the coach stops; for they would find nothing ready for them, (it not being the custom in this country to keep cold meats of any kind; and there being nothing to be had but at the usual meal-

hours,) so that they are completely in the innkeeper's power; and he makes them pay double for everything they have; while the owners of the coach have a share of the plunder, for bringing the passengers there to be fleeced. I am not sure that similar practices do not exist in England; but as virtue and vice do not change their nature by latitude or longitude—the practice is disreputable and disgraceful, be it where it may—though it is as easily justified, no doubt, to the consciences of those who follow it, as most other extortions and impositions, of which trade and commerce in every country is unhappily so full.

The Hebron of Ohio is very unlike its ancient namesake, the Hebron of Judea; for that is rocky and hilly in a more than usual degree, while this is on a rich level plain, of great fertility, and without a rock or hill near it. The Ohio canal passes through the town, and it appears to have all the symptoms of progressive prosperity. From this point onward to Columbus—Hebron being about mid-way between it and Zanesville—the road is perfectly level; and as it is cut through the dense forest in a perfectly straight line, you can see sometimes eight or ten miles a head, till all trace of the road is lost in the closing of its forest boundaries, thus reducing the white line to a thread by the diminishing effects of perspective. This level tract of country continued all the way till we reached Columbus, which we did about 5 o'clock—the distance being 54 miles, the time of the journey 9 hours, and the fare 3 dollars each.

The entrance to the town was very pleasing, there

being several large new public buildings on each side the road: the Lunatic Asylum of the State, the Asylum for the Blind, and others, with many well-built private residences, broad streets, and a freshness and brightness about everything that we had not seen since leaving Baltimore—owing to the absence of coal and smoke, as the coal region ceases with the hilly tract east of Hebron, and wood is the only fuel used in the towns of the plain. We were set down at the National Hotel, but finding larger and better apartments at the American, we had the courage to change from the one to the other, though at some risk of being abused for so doing; as this is a very unusual step, and was duly commented on, and spoken harshly of by many, as we afterwards learnt: the people not being able to comprehend how a traveller should not be satisfied with anything offered here, and receive it without hesitation.

CHAP. XV.

First settlement of Columbus as the Legislative Capital—River Scioto—Rich soil—Quarries of marble—Supplies of stone and brick for building—Asylums for the Deaf and Dumb, the Blind, and the Insane—State Penitentiary, conducted on the Auburn plan, or Silent System—Statistics of crimes, countries, and employments—Expenses—Profits—Sunday School—Report—Sittings of the Legislature—Disorderly proceedings—Hotels—Newspapers—Juvenile Militia.

COLUMBUS, though the legislative capital of the State of Ohio, is of comparatively very recent date, the act of the Legislature which fixed on this spot for the purpose being passed in 1812. Previous to that period, the sittings of the Legislature had been held at Chillicothe and Zanesville; but this being nearer the centre of the State than either, was selected in preference. In the year 1813, the town was first laid out, its plan being characterized by that symmetry which is almost universal in American settlements. The site of the town is on the eastern bank of the Scioto river, across which is thrown a well-executed close wooden bridge, as part of the Great National Road, with side-balconies for foot-passengers, open to the air. The streets cross each other at right angles, running nearly with the cardinal points, and are of good breadths,

varying from 80 to 120 feet wide; while the alleys, or smaller avenues, are 33 feet, and the larger streets are all well paved with excellent side-walks. In 1816, the town was incorporated as a borough; and in 1834, as a city; it is now governed by a Mayor, elected every two years, and 12 Aldermen, elected for four years, and has about 6,000 inhabitants.

The whole country around Columbus, as far as the eye can extend, seems perfectly level in every direction. The greater portion of the visible surface is covered with a dense mass of forest-trees; but the soil, which is said to be in many places from 20 to 30 feet deep, appears to be everywhere rich and fertile, and to offer the most favourable spots for farms. On the eastern bank of the river, only five miles above the town of Columbus, is a large quarry of fine gray marble, capable of receiving a high polish; and within a few miles further, are quarries of sandstone, out of which, several of the public edifices are built; while excellent clay for bricks is found close to the town; and timber of the best kinds for building abounds.

The river Scioto, which flows by the town, is the second river of magnitude which rises within the State. It is about 200 miles in length, and receives into it so many small tributaries in its progress towards the Ohio, into which it empties at Portsmouth, that its Indian name of See-yo-to, or "Great Legs," was given it to designate this peculiarity. The valley through which it flows, and which these tributaries help to drain, is about 70 miles across; and from Columbus to Portsmouth, a distance of

100 miles, it is said to form the richest tract of land in the State. It was thickly peopled with Indian tribes on the first settlement of the country, this being their favourite haunt; but not a red man is left anywhere within its precincts now. The stream is not navigable, except for small boats; but a canal from hence to the Ohio river affords a cheap and easy transit for goods, passengers, and produce.

Of the public buildings here, that which should be the handsomest and best, is the least beautiful or commodious of them all, namely, the State-House. It is a plain brick edifice, of two stories high, surmounted by a wooden turret, inferior in size and ornament to most of the County Court Houses in the smallest towns. The Hall of Representatives occupies the lower floor, and you enter it by a door opening immediately from the street into the Legislative Chamber, without the intervention of a lobby, passage, or any other vestibule. The Senate Chamber is above this, on the second story. Each is furnished with desks and chairs for their respective members; but it may be doubted whether there is any Legislative Capital in all the United States so unattractive and undignified in appearance as this of the State of Ohio.

The members and the community of Columbus having been some time sensible of this, caused an act to pass the Legislature, authorizing the erection of a new State-House; and this act meeting with no opposition, large appropriations, to the extent of 300,000 dollars, it is said, were made for its construction. A spot of ten acres was laid out for its site, its foundations were laid, upwards of 100,000

dollars were expended in bringing stone and material to the spot for its erection;—when, on some fit of caprice on the part of the Democratic members, who conceived themselves to be treated with disrespect by the inhabitants of the town, they brought in a bill to repeal the act authorizing the construction of a new State-House, and carried it through both Houses, so that there now remain collected together all the materials purchased and brought to the spot by the former appropriations, but without any legal authority to proceed further. The plans and elevations of the one begun are very handsome and appropriate, and its cost is estimated at 1,000,000 dollars; but the rejected plan of Mr. Chiselet, the English architect from Bath, who is building the new Court-House at Pittsburgh, is much more beautiful, without being more costly, and of that it is to be hoped some newly-elected Legislature will yet avail themselves.

Asylums for the Deaf and Dumb, the Blind and the Insane, are provided here at the expense of the State; and each appear to be furnished with every requisite for their respective objects, and to be conducted with great kindness and humanity. The Deaf and Dumb Asylum is said to be the only one in the country which is sustained wholly by the funds of the State, having no aid whatever from legacies, donations, or payments of the inmates. It has accommodations for 200 persons, but at present there are only about 50 inhabiting it. The Institution for the Blind is hardly yet organized, but promises to be quite as efficient. And the Lunatic Asylum, which is on the most elevated part of the land,

half a mile distant from the State-House, has about 30 acres of ground attached to it, with a fine large edifice for the accommodation of the patients, of whom there are now many, and the greatest number of these are females.

The State Penitentiary is one of the largest of the public buildings of Columbus. It is seated on the north bank of the Scioto river, in a pretty bend of the stream, and close to the water. The edifice has a projecting centre of 56 feet in length, and two receding wings of about 200 feet each, making a whole frontage of 456 feet. It is three stories high, is built of hewn limestone, and constructed of the Saxon style of architecture, but lighter in its general aspect, both from its proportions and materials, than the Penitentiary at Philadelphia. In its interior arrangement, it resembles more the State-prison at Auburn, in the State of New York, and Moyamensing, in Philadelphia. Each wing contains 350 cells, in four separate stories, each cell being 7 feet long, 3½ feet wide, and 7 feet high; so that there is just room to place a narrow bedstead on the stone floor, with barely space to pass between one side of it and the wall; while the prisoner is shut in by a heavy iron-grating door, through which he receives the light and air. These cells are entirely detached from the outer-walls of the main building, by a passage of 11 feet wide, which goes all round them, and extends upwards to the roof. Small galleries of iron frame-work, sustained by pillars, and accessible by iron stairs, lead from story to story, and cell to cell; so that the movements of every prisoner can be seen, and his escape

rendered almost impossible. The whole arrangement combines strength, security, ventilation, and cleanliness, in a high degree—and in these respects, could not, I think, be improved.

The system of discipline pursued here, is that which is called the Auburn, or Silent System, in contradistinction to the Philadelphia, or Solitary System; on the differences between which I have before had occasion to remark. Accordingly, the whole number of the inmates, amounting now to nearly 500 in number, are classed and arranged so as to be occupied all the day in various works. The places for carrying on these operations are ranged round the great central-court, forming a square of about 500 feet on each side, of which the front contains the centre and wings already described, the former being the residence of the warden, and the necessary offices of the establishment, and the wings containing the cells for the convicts.

As soon as a prisoner enters, he has to put on the prison-dress—white flannel with broad stripes of blue—and if he already knows any art or trade carried on here, he is placed to work at it; if he is unacquainted with any, he is employed as a labourer, and taught at intervals some of the occupations at which the greater number of hands are required. They are all called from their cells at daylight, have a plain breakfast, work till two o'clock, have as plain a dinner, labour till sunset, and then, having a piece of corn-bread only for supper, are marched to their cells again; their food being wholesome and sufficient, but of the plainest

kind; and their beds and bedding of the coarsest description.

During all the time of their labour, they are obliged to maintain a profound silence, and are prohibited, under severe penalties, not only from speaking to each other, but even from making signs, or holding communication through any other medium. To enforce this perpetual silence, Inspectors are stationed at different points in the workshops, and the smallest group are not permitted to labour without a Supervisor. Any breach of the regulations, in this or any other respect, is punished by flogging, for which there is a special room, with large whips provided, and the specified number of stripes are there inflicted by the person who fills the disagreeable office of flogger.

Of the 485 men who are confined here as convicts, the six largest classes in their occupation previous to conviction, are these:—farmers, 86; shoemakers, 45; labourers, 40; carpenters, 36; smiths, 27; boatmen, 24.

The six principal crimes for which this number were sent to the Penitentiary, are these:—grand larceny, 136; burglary, 61; horse-stealing, 63; counterfeiting, 48; burglary and larceny, 27; assault with intent to murder, 25.

Of the whole number of 485, there were 18 from England, 18 from Ireland, 4 from Scotland, and 2 from Wales—making 42 British; and 11 from Canada, 3 from the West Indies, 3 from France, 3 from Poland, 1 from Switzerland, and 1 from Hungary—making in all 64 foreigners; and 421 native Americans.

The six principal employments in which the convicts are now engaged, are these:—79 as makers of saddle-trees, 68 as stone-cutters and masons, 47 as coopers, 39 in making bridle-bits and stirrup-irons, 28 as shoemakers, and 26 as tailors.

Out of the whole number of 751 convicts which have been sent to this Institution since its commencement, there have been only 2 white females, and at present there is only 1 in confinement, for an aggravated case of murder. Of the men, one-fourth of the whole number are under 21 years of age; and two-fourths of the whole number are under 30; there are but 6 boys under 15; and 7 old men above 60. The black and coloured convicts form less than one-ninth part of the whole, being 52, out of 485; and of coloured females there are only 4.

The periods of confinement to which the convicts are condemned, vary from 1 year to 20, according to the nature of their crimes; and 18 are sentenced for life, as being guilty of murder in the first and second degrees. The average term may be considered about 6 years, and in a statement prefixed to the last Annual Report, it is said that "the unexpired term of all the convicts now in prison, added up, is about 2,000 years, making an average of about 4 years to each prisoner."

Among the unhappy victims whom we saw, there was pointed out to us an elderly man of about 60, named Van Ranssalaer, a relative of the great and good Patroon of Albany, recently deceased, and whose descendants are among the most opulent and respected of all the community of New York. This

convict was a lawyer by profession, but held the office of post-master in one of the towns of Ohio, and was convicted of forgery, and sentenced to the Penitentiary for 6 years. He is the only lawyer among the whole body; but there is 1 preacher, and 1 schoolmaster—the preacher is in for forgery, the schoolmaster for burglary; and all three of these are natives of the State of New York.

The erection of the Penitentiary cost about 100,000 dollars, which was paid out of the State-funds. But it is a source of considerable gain to the State; the profits from the sale of articles made in it realizing a net surplus of more than 20,000 dollars annually, above the expenditure necessary to sustain the prison, in the salary of its officers, and the subsistence of its inmates. This is far from being an unmixed benefit, however; for though it may be just and proper to make all prisoners pay by their labour for the cost of their security and subsistence, the evil of making them instruments of profit to the State, is seen in the tendency which it has to make convictions more frequent, and the terms of imprisonment longer; and that not with reference to the moral reformation of the prisoner, but solely with a view to profit. On this subject, the following extract from the last Annual Report for 1839, will speak for itself—

"To employ the convict labour in such a manner as will be most productive, and at the same time not come in competition with our own free-labour, is a subject on which we have felt the most anxious solicitude; and in reviewing the books for a number of years back, we have been forcibly struck with the changes which have taken place in the duration of sentences. Formerly, when the prison was a public charge, the shortest term was

thought inconveniently long, and hundreds were pardoned, to rid the State of expense. The present system of solitary confinement by night, and labour in silence during the day, it was thought, would mitigate the severity of punishment, at least in *its duration.* But since, by a strange misconception, the Institution has come to be 'considered an investment, rather than an expenditure, *a stock* quite as productive as any owned by the State;' a sentiment appears to be prevalent, that in order to render the labour of convicts productive, the term for which they are sentenced should be made long."

There is a chaplain attached to the Penitentiary, whose pay is derived exclusively from the fee of admission to see the prison, of 25 cents for each person; a most objectionable mode of paying any public officer of such an Institution, but above all, its chaplain. He attends the convicts daily, and preaches to them, or prays with them, every day at the dinner-hour; he preaches, also, once to the whole body, in the chapel, on the Sabbath; and visits the prisoners in their cells during the remainder of that day. About 300 of the prisoners, at their own desire, attend the Sunday School, and 50 of these are employed in learning to read. The chaplain doubts the utility, however, of continuing this plan, and he assigns these reasons for so doubting—

"While on this subject, I may be allowed, perhaps, to express a doubt as to the practicability, or even the *utility* of sustaining a Sabbath School in the prison, to which all who choose, both those who *can*, and those who *cannot* read, shall have free access. I entertain this doubt for three reasons:—1st, the difficulty of obtaining a sufficient number of well-qualified, regular, and constant teachers; for, to be subjected to the necessity of frequent changes of teachers, would be destructive of that order and discipline which are essential to the government of the prison, and

would greatly lessen, if it did not countervail entirely, the benefit to be hoped from such efforts: 2nd, the bad use which a portion of the convicts are liable to make of such a privilege: and 3rd, the excessive confinement to which it subjects the guards, who may regard it as imposing a gratuitous and heavy burden of duty upon them. I would, however, suggest to the board a plan for the instruction of those who cannot read, which, if I do not mistake, may be readily and advantageously carried into operation. It is to take such of this class of convicts as desire it, from their cells on the morning or afternoon of each Sabbath, and instruct them for an hour in the halls in which their cells are located, or at either extremity of them. In this case perhaps no additional guard would be needed; and the instructor of the prison might take upon himself, if desirable, the labour and responsibility of taking them from, and returning them to their cells, together with superintending their instruction."

He conceives also that it would be highly advantageous to allow them more entertaining and useful books to occupy their minds, as the anxiety to read is very general, and they have but a few volumes supplied by the American Sunday School Union, which have been read over and over again by all those who can read. But the very principle of making the prison a source of profit, rather than regarding it as a school of moral discipline and reform, demands economy in every branch of expenditure, and therefore books will be stinted, as well as every other kind of supply. The Bible and Prayer Book, which are in every cell, soon grow stale and wearisome, except to the very few who may really be under the influence of religious feelings of repentance, sorrow, and hope. But a great number of highly-interesting and instructive books, having no reference to religion, yet perfectly moral and beneficial in their tendency, might be

advantageously introduced into these prisons; and I can hardly conceive a more benevolent object for the opulent in different countries than that of supplying all the prisons in their neighbourhood with entertaining and instructive books, to beguile the weary hours of captivity.

I may add, however, that in every instance in which I have had the opportunity of examining this Silent System, or Auburn plan of Prison Discipline, as it is called, and comparing it with the Solitary System of Pennsylvania, my convictions in favour of the latter have gained strength; and I feel convinced that wherever the reformation of the criminal is deemed to be a higher object than making him an instrument of profit, the Pennsylvania System will be greatly preferred.

The resident-population of Columbus, including the small suburb of Franklinton, on the opposite bank of the Scioto river, is about 6,000; and of these the greater number are persons engaged in various branches of trade. A few only of the public officers of government reside here permanently; but these, with the professional men, are gradually increasing every year. At the period of the year when the Legislature is in session, which is in the winter months, another 1,000, at least, are added to the population of Columbus, in the members of both Houses and their families, lawyers, and visitors. This is the most bustling aspect under which to see the town, but, from all that I heard here, not the most favourable for its reputation. The members are described as coarse in their manners, and violent in their tempers; and one may

infer so much from the fact, that during the very last session, the Speaker of the House of Representatives attacked the editor of the State Journal in the street, and was separated from him only by force. There were also many disorderly scenes in the House itself, which obtained for it the name of "The Bear Garden," and these are adverted to in the following article, published during our stay in Columbus, in the Journal of April 29, which at the same time records a scene in a higher assembly, that may well account for the turbulence and disorder of inferior ones. This is the article—

"A Row in Congress.

"A most disgraceful scene occurred in the House of Representatives on the morning of the 21st instant. We have no patience with such things. They are a disgrace to the whole nation, and as such should be frowned down by every well-wisher of his country.—The occurrence reminds us of some scenes in the 'Bear Garden' at our own capital last winter. The account which follows is taken from the correspondence of the Baltimore American. The subject under discussion at the time of the flare-up, and which seems to have provoked the conduct of Mr. Bynum, was the facts contained in the document signed by the Congressional Whig Executive Committee, and which will be found in our columns to-day.

"'Mr. Saltonstall resumed his remarks, and while he was speaking, Mr. Bynum, of North Carolina, came to the part of the House in which Mr. Garland, of Louisiana, was sitting. In the hearing of Mr. G., and while addressing him, he stated that the document was a suspicious paper, and intimated that it was corrupt. Mr. Garland maintained that it was true. [All this conversation was between the two members, and one or two in their vicinity.] Mr. G. appealed to Mr. Linn Banks and others, in proof of what he said. Mr. B., as I understand, confirmed it.

"'Be that as it may, hard words soon passed between the two members. The lie was given by Mr. Bynum, and Mr. Garland,

in answer to it, seized Mr. B. by the throat, and struck him two or three times. Mr. B. in return, after scratching the face of Mr. Garland, drew a knife. He uttered horrid imprecations in a voice which was heard in the Hall.

"'Mr. B. was seen by the crowds in the galleries with his knife in his right hand, and heard using the most brutal language, 'liar,' 'puppy,' 'scoundrel,' &c. Mr. Garland, no less excited, but more silent, continued to deal heavy blows against his antagonist. As soon as could be, the two members were separated by Mr. Evans and Mr. Banks, aided by those around them. After the separation, Mr. Bynum still attempted to reach Mr. G., and to stab him with the knife which he brandished in the air.

"'The speaker in the mean time took the chair.—The sergeant-at-arms was ordered to arrest the members, but their friends protected them. Both now withdrew from the bar of the House, and partial order was restored. [During the interruption the members had left their places, and all upon the outside of the Hall rushed in. Order was at length restored.']

"A committee of five was immediately raised, on motion of Mr. Underwood, of Kentucky, to investigate the affair, with power to send for persons and papers. Their report has not yet been received. We trust they will do *justice* to the parties, to Congress, and to the country."

This increasing rudeness and violence in the Halls of Legislation, is a melancholy symptom of the decay of public virtue and sense of dignity, among the public men of America; and if it proceeds much further unchecked and uncorrected, the Legislative bodies and their measures must gradually fall into deserved contempt.

Of churches there are 5 in Columbus—2 Presbyterian, 1 Episcopal, 1 Methodist, and 1 Baptist, besides 2 churches for the coloured population only. There is a Theological Seminary for German Lutherans, about 3 miles south of the town; but there are no large schools, public or private, in the city.

The private dwellings are many of them handsome, and the society is more genteel than in many towns of similar size in other States. My Lectures here were given in the Hall of the House of Representatives, from the Speaker's chair, while the audience occupied the seats and desks of the members; and neither at Steubenville, Wheeling, or Zanesville, were their numbers so great as here, or their appearance so favourable, the Hall being crowded every evening, and the audience remarkable for its elegance, especially among the ladies, though the weather was extremely unfavourable, as we had three days and nights of almost incessant rain during our stay here.

There are two large and several smaller hotels in Columbus, and all of them appeared to be full of boarders. As each announces its meals by the ringing of a bell, and a sort of competition seemed to exist between them as to who should ring longest and loudest, there was the greatest clangour and noise at 6, for breakfast; 12, for dinner; and 6, for supper. It would seem, indeed, to a stranger that all the bells of all the churches must be ringing at the same time, or as though the town was composed entirely of factories, and all were ringing their workmen to their meals at the same hours. This is another of the American habits, to which no length of time, I think, could reconcile me. Among the new hotels starting up, is one, nearly completed, to be called "Neil House," which will be larger, when finished, than the Astor House at New York, and is calculated to board and lodge 500 individuals. It is to be hoped, however, that this comfortless habit

of living in crowds, and eating in droves, like cattle, will, for the sake of the Americans themselves, ere long give place to the more refined, more delicate, and more pleasurable mode of living in greater privacy, and being more select in their social circles.

There are 4 newspapers published at the capital: the Ohio Statesman, Democratic; the Confederate, and State Journal, Whig; and a new one, just issued, called "The Straight-out Harrisonian," to be continued only till after the next Presidential election. Though the majority of the Legislature of Ohio is Democratic, yet the Harrison-fever rages here with great violence; and in the zeal and enthusiasm of the General's adherents, they have actually built a log-cabin on an open space of ground in the middle of the town, made, however, sufficiently long to hold the public meetings in; and a large pole erected at its entrance bore the American flag waving from it, during all the time of our stay here.

They have also in the town a corps of juvenile militia, or volunteers, composed of boys between 10 and 15, who all wear uniform, carry wooden lances, have a band of music, parade the streets, and go through their evolutions very much to their own evident delight and satisfaction.

In the small towns of the West, since leaving Baltimore, we had met with at least one English person, whom I had known elsewhere; and here at Columbus, we met with a young English artist, a relative of the Rev. Daniel Wilson, of Islington, the present Bishop of Calcutta. His residence was at

New York, but he was here on a professional tour through the West, painting portraits at 50 dollars for half-lengths, and 100 dollars for whole ; and as his talents were good, his likenesses faithful, and he had the art of flattering female beauty without lessening the resemblance, he was very popular, and assured us that he had made upwards of 3,000 dollars in four months, here, by painting portraits alone. We visited his atelier, and thought some of his pictures quite equal to those of Sully.

I met here, also, a gentleman who had been three times to the East Indies, and had sent two vessels on trading-voyages to Zanzibar, Bombay, and Muscat, with whom I had long conversations on the character and present position of my old friend and patron, the Imaum of Muscat, so that my stay here was marked by an agreeable variety.

CHAP. XVI.

History of the State of Ohio—French settlers—Speech of the Indian Chief Logan—Condition of the State at the Declaration of Independence—Indian warfare—Erection of the Northwest territory—Act of treachery and cruelty perpetrated by the English—Unjust denunciation of the whole British nation—Examples of inflated eulogy by American writers—Neglect of Clinton and Fulton by the American nation—Area, boundaries, and varied surface of Ohio—Fossil remains—Antiquities—Indian mounds—Resemblance of these mounds to the tumuli of antiquity—Animals—Serpents—Fishes—Insects—The Cicada—Fruit trees—Vines—Flowering shrubs—Political constitution of Ohio—Peculiarities—House of Representatives and Senate—Internal improvements—Canals—Railroads—Progressive population of the State—Amount of taxable property assessed—Education—Acts providing funds for this—Higher seminaries of learning and religion—Kenyon College at Gambia—Episcopal establishment—Built chiefly with funds raised in England—Presbyterian and Catholic seminaries—Religious sects—Numbers and proportions—Departure from Columbus for Chillicothe—Embark in a packet-boat on the canal—Beautiful scenery of the Scioto Valley—Town of Circleville built on an Indian mound—Description of this remarkable antiquity.

Having received the privilege of admission to the State Library here, and access to all its public records, through the politeness of the librarian, this would seem to be the proper place to present, before leaving the capital of Columbus, a general view of the history, present condition, and statistics of the State of Ohio itself.

The first Europeans who ever set foot on the soil of Ohio, were Frenchmen. The celebrated La Salle penetrated, in 1680, from Canada, by the great Lakes, to the Mississippi, which he navigated to its outlet in the Gulf of Mexico. After him, French missionaries settled themselves at various intermediate points; and in 1749, Louis XV. sent out an expedition, for the purpose of depositing medals at all the points then occupied as the Empire of New France, which this region was then called—asserting and recording the claims of that sovereign to all the countries watered by the "Rivière Oyo," and its branches. Fort de Quesne, where Pittsburgh now stands, was one of these places; and some of the medals are now in the possession of the collectors of curiosities in this country.

In 1763, all the French possessions in North America were ceded to the British, at the close of a long and bloody war. But though hostilities had ceased between the whites, and also between their respective Indian allies, the flame of war was soon after rekindled, by the unprovoked attack made on a party of Indians on the Ohio river, just above Wheeling, by Colonel Cresap, and another by Daniel Greathouse, both British, in which many of these unfortunate people were murdered in cold blood, and accompanied in the latter instance with treachery of the most diabolical kind. It was in one of these unprovoked attacks, that the entire family of the Mingo Chief, Logan, the especial friend of the whites, was slain. The Indians flew to arms; and Lord Dunmore, then Governor of Virginia, found it necessary to lead the force against them in

person. After several bloody contests, in which many British officers fell, and no less than 140 were wounded in one action—the Indians were overcome, by the superior discipline and skill of their white opponents; and at length sued for peace. Lord Dunmore, who was at this time, 1774, encamped at a spot on the Scioto river, between Columbus and Portsmouth, near where the town of Circleville stands, and which station he called "Camp Charlotte," in honour of the then Queen of England—granted an entry to 18 of the principal Indian warriors, for the purpose of holding a council to settle the terms of peace. One of these Indians, the celebrated chief called Cornplanter, opened the council with a powerful and impressive speech, uttered in a tone sufficiently loud to be heard by the army all over the encampment, a square of twelve acres, in which he boldly charged the whites with being the sole cause of the late bloody war. At this council, the Chief Logan was invited to attend; but he declined coming in person. He sent, however, in a belt of wampum, to be delivered by an interpreter, to Lord Dunmore himself, the speech which has made his name so distinguished; and which was given in English, sentence by sentence, by the interpreter so charged, under an oak-tree, within the limits of the camp, and which tree is still standing, on the farm of Mr. Wolfe, about 7 miles south of Circleville. This was the speech of Logan:—

"I appeal to any white man to-day, if he ever entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat; if he came naked and cold, and I clothed him not. During the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace.

Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen, as they passed me, pointing at me, said, 'Logan is the friend of the whites.' I had thoughts of living among you, but for one man—Colonel Cresap, last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not sparing even my women and children. There runs not one drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it; I have killed many; I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice in the beams of peace. But do not harbour the thought, that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one!"*

In 1778, two years only after this, the Declaration of Independence was signed. The territory now constituting the State of Ohio then belonged to Virginia. But in 1782, the Legislature of Virginia covenanted to yield up all the territory north-west of the Ohio river to the General Congress, on condition of its being allowed to reserve only a small portion to reward its soldiers with, as military bounty. In 1787, this tract was created a Territory, to be governed by a governor, secretary, and three judges, appointed by the President. These had sole power to make the laws and execute them, until a population of 5,000 free white male inhabitants above 21 years of age, should be collected. They were then entitled to choose a legislative house of assembly, the General Congress to appoint a legislative council, and these two bodies to elect a delegate to Congress. This form of government was to continue, until the population amounted to 60,000; and then the Territory was to become a State, to be

* This speech was quoted by Lord Chatham, in the House of Lords.

admitted into the Union, on the condition of the original Thirteen States, recognized in the Declaration of Independence.

In 1788, the Settlement of Marietta was founded by the Ohio Company, at the mouth of the Muskingum river, so called in honour of Marie Antoinette, then Queen of France; but from this period to 1791, wars with the Indians were almost constant, in one part of this territory or another. Among the events of these wars, none was more terrible than the defeat of Governor St. Clair and his army, by the Indians near the head-waters of the Wabash river, in November, 1791. Of the white officers, all were killed or wounded except three; and of the artillery, all were killed except four privates—38 commissioned officers fell dead on the field of battle, and 21 were mortally wounded—600 non-commissioned officers and privates were killed, and 242 were wounded, the greater number of whom died of their wounds. The following singular scene is described in Atwater's History of this period:—

"There were in the army, at the commencement of the action, about 250 white women, of whom 56 were killed in the battle, and the remainder were made prisoners by the enemy, except a small number who reached Fort Washington. One of the survivors lived until recently, in Cincinnati, a Mrs. Catherine Millar. This woman ran ahead of the whole army, in their flight from the field of battle. Her large quantity of long red hair floated on the breeze, which the soldiers followed through the woods as their forerunner, that moved rapidly onward to the place of their ultimate destination."

There was at first, however, a popular feeling raised in Boston *against* emigration to Ohio,

which is thus adverted to by Judge Burnet in his Letters—

"We have now seen what the first immigrants had to hope and what to fear. But after the pacification of Fort Greenville, all discouragements were removed, and the tide of immigration rushed westward in torrents. In the Eastern States, the most extravagant reports were circulated of Ohio fertility, the soil was said to be endowed with a self-generating power, which required no seed. Men were to reap abundantly without ploughing or sowing, and all was to be ease and plenty. I can well remember when, in Massachusetts, the rage for moving to Ohio was so great, that resort was had to counteracting fictions, in order to discourage it; and this region was represented as cold, sterile, sickly, and full of all sorts of monsters. Nor was this all. The powerful engine of caricature was set in motion. I have a distinct recollection of a picture, which I saw in boyhood, prefixed to a penny *Anti-moving-to-Ohio pamphlet*, in which a stout, ruddy, well-dressed man, on a sleek fat horse, with a label, '*I am going to Ohio*,' meets a pale, and ghastly skeleton of a man, scarcely half dressed, on the wreck of what was once a horse, already bespoken by the more politic crows, with a label, '*I have been to Ohio*.' But neither falsehood nor ridicule could deter the enterprising from seeking a new home. Hither they came in crowds. They did not indeed bring affluence with them, but they brought the bold heart and strong hand, which are infinitely better, to reclaim a wilderness."

St. Clair was superseded by General Wayne, who was more successful in his campaigns; but the atrocities committed by both whites and Indians are revolting to read. Happily, however, they had at length an end; and in 1800, the North West Territory, as this tract was then called, was divided into two; the area of the present Ohio and Michigan, containing 80,000 square miles, constituting one, under its old title; and the area of the present

Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, containing 180,000 square miles, constituting the other, under the title of the Territory of Indiana. St. Clair was continued as Governor of the former, notwithstanding his unsuccessful military career; and General William Henry Harrison, the present Whig candidate for the Presidency of the United States, was appointed Governor of the latter.

The first Territorial Legislature began its sittings at Cincinnati in 1799. In the following session, however, the seat of government was moved to Chillicothe,* where it remained till 1803, when Ohio was incorporated as one of the States of the Union. The State constitution was framed at Chillicothe, and the seat of the State Legislature continued there till 1810, when it was removed to Zanesville, where it continued till 1812, when it was removed to Columbus, and here still remains.

It is remarkable that on the very day that the first building-lots were sold in Columbus, June 18th, 1812, the declaration of war between the United States and Great Britain was signed by President Madison; and in this war, the people of Ohio bore their full share, as their northern frontier extends to Lake Erie, on which, and on the opposite shores of

* The reason given for this change is thus explained by Judge Burnet—"This was done in consequence of the violent and disgraceful proceedings of a mob, which assembled on two successive evenings, for the purpose of insulting the governor and several of the members of the legislature, without any steps being taken by the police of the town to repress it, or to punish the leaders, some of whom had been ranked among the most respectable inhabitants of the place."—Letters, p. 75.

Canada and the United States, many sanguinary conflicts occurred. In the history of this war, as given by Mr. Atwater, the conduct of General Proctor, commanding the British force in Canada, towards a surgeon of the United States army, who was sent with a flag of truce and medicines for the American sick and wounded among the prisoners in the power of the British, is severely and justly reprehended. But, unfortunately, instead of confining his denunciation to the individual or individuals who perpetrated the cruelties alleged, he takes occasion to vent his feelings towards the whole British nation in these terms—

"Are we describing the conduct of the savages on the Niger? of the Upper Nile? or of some barbarous nation in the heart of Central Africa? No, reader, we are stating, without colouring, the treatment of Dr. Mc Keehan, sent on the holiest errand that any man could be sent, to a British army, belonging to a nation who professes to be 'the bulwark of our religion!' a nation professing more humanity and religion than any other in the world! but at the same time a nation, who, for its numbers, has shed more human blood than any other; a nation more cruel, more wicked, and who has done less good in the world, than almost any other nation; who has enslaved more men, and now holds them in bondage, than any other nation now or ever in existence. The Christianity of the British government is shown by their supporting Episcopacy in England, Presbyterianism in Scotland, the Roman Catholic in Canada, and Idolatry in India! The British government boasts of their efforts to send missions to the heathen! But for every sixpence which they have thus expended, a thousand pounds have been spent by others in shedding human blood, and in enslaving mankind. And this nation, thus steeped in human gore, dyed deep in infamy of all sorts, now employs itself in reading moral lectures to us on the impropriety of our holding slaves.*

* Atwater's History of Ohio, p. 211, 212.

"Cæsar, travelling in Britain, and British travellers in the United States, have outdone all others in slandering mankind; against which all nature cries aloud, in a voice that reaches the heavens, and is approved there."*

After this, I think it will be unreasonable for the Americans to place, as it is so constantly their custom to do, the entire blame on English travellers and English writers for speaking harshly of their institutions and their manners. At least I do not think this tirade against the English nation can be matched by anything of equal virulence and bitterness; or if there exist such passages in any English writers, I do not at present remember them.

While on the subject of this History, I may mention that amidst its denunciations of the British, it contains some of the most remarkable specimens of the inflated style of self-eulogy that can be conceived; but quite characteristic of that spirit of boasting, which appears to me to be more prevalent in this country than in any nation of Europe; indeed, quite equal to that of the Chinese, though expressed in a different phraseology, and with less of excuse than an impartial mind would extend to the immensely populous, but imperfectly informed people of the Celestial Empire. I content myself with two of these specimens only—

"To all human appearance, this nation (America) is eventually destined to be the most powerful one that now is, ever was, or ever will be, on the globe," p. 244.

"The seat of the last, the greatest, the most glorious, wealthy, and powerful empire in the world, must be located in the Mississippi valley. The hand of time, which will strike out of exist-

* Atwater's History of Ohio, p. 289.

ence other empires, and sink them into oblivion, shall only roll up the curtain which hangs before them, and show the world all the splendours of this," p. 283.

And yet, of this same nation, which *is to be* thus great, wealthy, powerful, and magnificent, he records this gross injustice of its existing government—

"Although the power and use of steam had long been known to a great degree in Europe; and although Bolton, Watt, an Arkwright, have successfully applied it to a great many useful purposes; yet, until Robert Fulton brought this power into useful operation, in propelling vessels, nothing practical was effected by it in navigation. Fulton expended a fortune on his invention, and died not worth a dollar, leaving behind him a family of orphans. He even lost his life in trying an experiment, on a vessel of war which Congress had employed him to construct. His fate, or his services, as well as Clinton's, under *any* modern European government, would have entitled their heirs to a competency during their lives, in consideration of the services of their fathers, to the country which had been so signally benefited by their labours. But what has the Republic done for Fulton's and Clinton's heirs? Nothing! absolutely nothing!"

The State of Ohio, within its present boundaries, is about 220 miles in length from north to south, and 210 miles in breadth from east to west; it contains, therefore, an area of about 40,000 square miles, or 25,000,000 of acres. It is bounded on the north by Lake Erie and the State of Michigan, on the south by the Ohio river, on the east by Pennsylvania, and on the west by Indiana.

The surface of the country to the north is generally level, and sometimes, in the neighbourhood of Lake Erie, marshy. Towards the centre it becomes more elevated, and the highest summit-level of the Cleveland and Ohio canal, coming from north to

south, and connecting Lake Erie with the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico, is 500 feet above the level of the Lake, and this is 565 feet above the level of the sea. The eastern portion of the State is the most beautifully diversified with hill and dale. The western is more level, and everywhere fertile. But the richest part of all is the Scioto valley, in which the towns of Columbus, Circleville, Chillicothe, and Portsmouth are seated.

Iron, coal, and salt are among the minerals known and available; stone for building, clay for bricks, and wood, in the eastern parts, for fuel, are everywhere abundant. Of trees, the white oak, the black walnut, the hickory, the maple, the beech, the birch, the poplar, the sycamore, the ash, and the buck-eye, a name given to the State, are among the most prominent. Fruit trees of various kinds are abundant, especially the apple, the peach, the cherry, and the pawpaw. Indian corn is produced in many parts, at the rate of from 70 to 100 bushels per acre, and wheat is nowhere finer or more abundant than in Ohio, from 30 to 40 bushels per acre being the usual returns. Cattle of all kinds thrive well; and the horses, oxen, and sheep, of this State, are equal to any we have ever seen in America; while hogs are perhaps nowhere so plentiful. At the same time, in all the rivers not navigated by steamboats, fish of great variety and excellent flavour are found. As far, therefore, as the abundance of the means of subsistence may be taken as a test of superiority, Ohio may take its place among the first rank of the States of the Union; while her mild climate, facilities of transport, and beautiful scenery, will always present additional attractions to new settlers.

Among the fossil remains found in this State, in addition to those already described as seen at Zanesville, the remains of an Asiatic elephant were discovered, while excavating the canal in the valley of the Scioto, a mile or two north of Chillicothe. The tusks of elephants, the teeth of the mastodon, and the bones of the megalonyx, have also been found in great numbers here. Mr. Atwater asserts that not more than ten years since, there was exhibited in Columbus, the bones, forming almost a perfect skeleton, of a fossil alligator, of an extinct species, the largest ever known, the length of which, when alive, must have been 180 feet, and its body 30 feet in diameter! which had been disinterred from beneath the alluvial soil in the great valley of the Mississippi.

The State of Ohio contains a great number of interesting antiquities, in the remains of forts and mounds, constructed by some races of Indians more advanced in the arts of life than those which inhabited the continent at the first discovery of it by Columbus and Vespucci. The forts appear to have extended in a connected chain, stretching from north-east to south-west, all the way from Canada to Mexico; and to mark an undoubted communication in early ages, between those remote provinces. Those within the State of Ohio are found at Granville, Circleville, Chillicothe, Paint Creek, and on the Little Miami river. The elevations on which these forts were placed, vary from 10 to 30 feet in perpendicular height above the plain; the greater number are oval or elliptical in shape, though some are square, and the angle of their sides is so steep as to render the ascent difficult. Their area varies

from 2 to 100 acres. A wall of earth, generally marked the outer enclosure, mostly single, but in some cases double, and parallel to each other, with little intervening space between. The number of gateways or entrances varies also from 2 to 8; and the positions in which they are placed being generally in natural elevations, commanding the bank of some river, or some extensive plain, is such as would naturally be chosen for places of refuge and defence, which these spots undoubtedly were.

On this subject, no higher authority can be cited than that of General Harrison, who, in a very elaborate and interesting "Discourse on the Aborigines of the Valley of the Ohio," read before the Historical Society of that State, says—

"Taking into consideration all the circumstances which can be collected from the works they have left on the ground, I have come to the conclusion that these people were assailed both from their northern and southern frontier; made to recede from both directions; and that their last effort at resistance, was made on the banks of the Ohio. I have adopted this opinion, from the different character of their works, which are there found, from those in the interior. Great as some of the latter are, and laborious as was the construction, particularly those of Circleville and Newark, I am persuaded they were never intended for military defences. On the contrary, those upon the Ohio river were evidently designed for that purpose. The three that I have examined, those of Marietta, Cincinnati, and the mouth of the Great Miami, particularly the latter, have a military character stamped upon them which cannot be mistaken. The latter work, and that at Circleville, never could have been erected by the same people, if intended for military purposes. The square, at the latter place, has such a number of gateways, as seem intended to facilitate the entrance of those who would attack it. And both it and the circle were completely commanded by the mound, rendering it an easier matter to take, than defend it. The

engineers, on the contrary, who directed the execution of the Miami works, appear to have known the importance of flank defences. And if their bastions are not as perfect, as to form, as those which are in use in modern engineering, their positions, as well as that of the long lines of curtains, are precisely as they should be. I have another conjecture as to this Miami fortress. If the people of whom we have been speaking were really the Astecks, the direct course of their journey to Mexico, and the facilities which that mode of retreat would afford, seems to point out the descent of the Ohio as the line of that retreat."

He adds, in another portion of this Discourse, the expression of his belief that these works are similar to those found in California and Mexico, and show a widely extended range of the same aboriginal race. This is his language—

"The similarity, in point of form and mode of construction, between the works now to be seen in all the countries I have mentioned, (Ohio, Mexico, and California,) prove that they must have been erected by the same, or a kindred people derived from the same stock; and if the latter, the separation took place *after the custom of such erections had commenced.*

"If the Astecks were not the authors of the Ohio works, we can only account for the ultimate fate of those who were, by supposing that they were entirely extirpated, preferring, like the devoted Numantians, to be buried under the ruins of their own walls, to seeking safety by an ignominious flight.

"It appears, however, that no exertion was omitted to avert their impending fate. The work to which I have referred, at the mouth of the Great Miami, was a citadel, more elevated than the Acropolis of Athens, although easier of access, as it is not, like the latter, a solid rock, but on three sides as nearly perpendicular as could be, to be composed of earth. A large space of the lower ground, was, however, enclosed by walls, uniting it with the Ohio."

The mounds are much more numerous than the forts, and are scattered over every part of the Western States. But they are probably more abundant

in Ohio than in any other. These are of all sizes, from 15 feet in elevation to 70; and from a circumference of 100 feet to 3,000. Sometimes they are of a pointed shape, with scarcely more than a standing place on the top; at others they have an area of 40 feet square, perfectly level at the summit. There is such a one at Gallipolis, and another at Worthington, the latter of which is 50 feet in elevation. Many of these are said to be composed of an entirely different earth from that of the surrounding soil; from which it is inferred that the material for constructing them was brought from a distance. One of this description was found at Franklinton, on the banks of the Scioto, composed of clay, while the soil on which it stood was a rich loam. The utility of the clay, led the settlers to use it up for the making bricks, of which they built their Court House; and in destroying the mound for this purpose, an immense quantity of human bones were found, which proved that this tumulus had been an extensive cemetery of some ancient race of Indians. The largest of these mounds is near the Ohio river, about 14 miles below Wheeling. The stream of water flowing near it into the Ohio, is called Grave Creek, from the belief that this mound was the grave of many Indian warriors. Its perpendicular height is about 70 feet, its area at the base 33 roods; and on its summit it has a flattened area of about 60 feet in diameter, in the centre of which is a regular concavity, the cubic space occupied by which is about 3,000 feet. Near this large mound are five smaller ones, of about 100 feet in circumference only, but devoted, no doubt, like the larger ones, to the interment of the dead.

Three interesting relics of the olden time in this western hemisphere, resemble the tumuli existing on the plain of Troy, and pointed out at present as the tombs of Achilles, Ajax, and other heroes of the Trojan war; but, like the many similar mounds which exist in Wiltshire and other counties of England, by some attributed to the Druids, by some to the Phœnicians, and by others to the Romans, these Indian mounds have their origin buried in profound obscurity; and all that we can know of them now is, that they were the sepulchres of men perhaps as honoured in their day as Achilles or Ajax; some Logan, or Black-Hawk, or Keokuck, of ancient times, who had no Homer to immortalize their deeds; and whose memories, embalmed only in the war-songs of their tribes, passed away when the tribes themselves became extinct.

There are no longer any wild animals in the State of Ohio; though, less than half a century since, the buffalo, the elk, the bear, the wolf, the panther, and the fox, were more numerous, on the whole, than man. When Circleville was first settled as a town, so recently as 1810, the skeletons of no less than 50 elks, recently killed and eaten by the Indians, were found here. The larger wild animals have, however, almost wholly disappeared; and there now remains only the opossum, the racoon, the fox, the pole-cat, the mink, the squirrel, the ground-hog, and the rabbit. Beavers were once abundant; but these have also disappeared, though a few otters still remain.

There are two descriptions of rattlesnakes existing in Ohio; the larger kind, the male of which is

black and the female yellow; and the smaller spotted rattlesnake, the bite of which is the most venomous. It is remarkable that hogs devour the rattlesnakes wherever they find them; and it is asserted that the bite of the snake has no venomous influence on the hog. This is attributed to some property in the fat of the latter, as olive oil is known to be an antidote to the poison of the bite; and it is thought that the oily matter of the hog's fat may have the same effect. There are several other kinds of snakes, both land and water, but none of these are venomous. There are three species of tortoise, the large black, the small brown, and the soft-shelled. This last lives wholly in the water, and is esteemed as much as the sea-turtle for food. Fishes were once abundant in the Ohio river; but steam navigation has caused most of them to disappear. In the smaller streams, however, the salmon, the pike, and three or four other excellent kinds of fish are found; and a small crayfish, weighing about 10 or 12 ounces, tasting like the lobster, and having the property of reproducing their antennæ, when broken off, is abundant in the waters of the low lands, and is esteemed as a great delicacy.

Among the insects, the cicada, as it is called by some, or the locust, as it is called by others, is the most remarkable. It is periodical in its appearance, every 7 years according to some, every 14 according to others. It appears early in May, and completely disappears again before the end of July, and its progress is thus described—

"When they first appear on the surface of the earth, they resemble grub-worms, being half an inch long, and three-eighths of

an inch in diameter. They rise from the earth perpendicularly by a hole, which they make with equal ease through any kind of soil, whether of sand or of clay. They first appear on the surface in the night, and are then white and soft. They crawl up some bush, tree, or limb, and wait until the sun dries the shells which envelope them. This shell bursts on the insect's back, out of which prison the locust crawls. Their bodies are very tender at first, and they cannot then either crawl or fly far. In this state they remain one night, their bodies still moist, their wings expanding, and, during the day following, they begin to fly a few feet at a time, and by the first night they can fly several roods. The insect has now arrived at full maturity."*

There are no less than six distinct species of the wild grape, all of which are adapted to the production of wine. The largest of the trees produces the least valuable of these fruits; this is the frost-grape, the tree of which is often 18 inches in diameter, and grows to a height of more than 100 feet, covering the tops of the largest trees along the banks of the rivers. The fruit of the pawpaw is much esteemed by some, and its tree puts forth a beautiful trumpet flower in the spring; while the wild rose and the lily are both found in the woods.

The political constitution of Ohio has some features of difference from many others, which may be worth noting. This constitution was drawn up by a convention, debated, and voted, section by section, in the usual way; but one very important step was omitted. It was never referred to the votes of the people for their confirmation, which is almost always done in similar cases. Owing to the strong dislike which the original framers of this constitution had to the then existing governor, General St. Clair,

* Atwater's History of Ohio," p. 69, 70.

they omitted to arm him with the veto power, or to give him the privilege of nominating or appointing officers, except it were to fill temporary vacancies. The Governor's assent, therefore, is not necessary to give validityto any law; nor can he prevent the passing of any act, of which the majority of the two Houses of the Legislature may approve; so that he is comparatively powerless, except as an executive officer, to see the laws observed, and to sign the commissions of those officers, civil and military, who may be appointed by the legislative assembly. His only qualifications are, to be of 30 years of age, and to have resided 4 years within the State. He is elected by the people for 2 years; and his salary is 1,500 dollars per annum.

The House of Representatives is limited to be never less than 36, nor more than 72 members. The representatives must be at least 25 years of age, have resided in the State a year, and have paid some tax, the amount, however, not specified; they are elected annually. The Senate must never fall short in number of one-third, nor exceed in number one-half the House of Representatives; a senator must be 30 years of age, and have resided two years in the district from which he is chosen, and his election is for two years. The members of both Houses are elected by counties, or by districts composed of counties, according to population; and the only qualifications of an elector are, that he shall be a citizen of the United States, be 21 years of age, and have resided one year in the State in which his vote is given.

Of internal improvements, the principal one is

the great canal which goes from Cleveland, on the borders of Lake Erie, to Portsmouth on the Ohio river, traversing a distance of upwards of 300 miles, with a lockage of 1,185 feet, made at a cost of about 3,000,000 dollars; and the Miami Canal, from Dayton, a large manufacturing town in the centre of the State, to Cincinnati, a distance of about 70 miles. These, with their feeders, make a length of 500 miles of canals, all executed at the expense of the State, now its property, and yielding an annual revenue. There are two railroads, one called The Mad-river and Lake Erie Railroad; and the other The Pennsylvania and Ohio Railroad. The first runs from Dayton to Sandusky, near Lake Erie, so as, with the canal, to connect Cincinnati with the Lake, being a distance of 200 miles; and the second runs from Pittsburgh to Massillon on the Ohio canal, 50 miles south of the Lake, the distance of which is 108 miles. Many others have been incorporated by the State Legislature, but are deferred from the pressure of the times.

The progressive population of Ohio may be seen from the following numbers, as taken from the decennial census, at the different periods named—

In 1790, it was	3,000	In 1820, it was	581,434
1800, „	45,365	1830, „	937,903
1810, „	230,760	1840, above	1,200,000

In 1836, there were returned 16,409,029 acres of land for taxation, as being the property of private individuals, assessed at the value of 55,242,254 dollars, exclusive of town-property, which was valued in the same return at 16,906,854 dollars. Besides this valuation of the real estate, in actual occupation,

there were returned for assessment by taxation 8,899,994 dollars' worth of merchandise; 280,562 horses, 402,376 head of cattle, and 2,986 pleasure-carriages, these being the only taxable articles in the State, of which returns were required. The aggregate amount of these was 87,213,112 dollars; on which taxes for state, county, and town purposes were levied. The amount produced by this was 995,376 dollars; while in the same year the revenue of the State was 301,057 dollars. Considering that all this is the result of less than 50 years' progress—for before that time, Ohio was without white settlers—and that, therefore, all this has been accumulated since the Declaration of Independence, it must be admitted to be a wonderful instance of rapid and steady progress towards wealth and prosperity.

The subject of Education engaged the early attention of the Legislature of this State. So early as 1785, the 16th section of every township of land, sold by the State, was to be reserved for the support of Common Schools;* and, in 1802, this appro-

* It is remarkable that the support of religion, as well as of education, was at first intended to be given by law to the settlers in this State; but the fear of disputes arising as to the particular sect to be preferred, and possibly the dread of an ultimate State Establishment, seems to have caused that part of the original intention not to have been carried into effect. The fact, however, is given on the high authority of Judge Burnet, in the following terms—

"Those ordinances adopted the principle, that one section, in every township of the public land, should be given for the use of schools. As early as the 20th May, 1785, an ordinance was passed, declaring, that 'there shall be reserved, the lot No. 16, of every township, for the maintenance of public schools,

priation was further confirmed. In 1825, a general tax upon property was enacted, to aid in the support of such schools; and, in 1831, this was further confirmed by another act, which declared "that a fund shall be raised in the several counties of this State, for the use of Common Schools, for the instruction of the white youth of every class and grade without distinction, in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and other necessary branches of education; that for this purpose there shall be annually levied and assessed upon the *ad valorem* amount of the general list of taxable property in each county of the State, (the property of blacks and mulattoes excepted,) three-fourths of a mill on the dollar; and that the trustees of each incorporated township in this State, where the same has not been already done, shall lay off their township into school-districts in a manner most convenient for the population."

This same act authorizes the householders of each

within the said township.' The ordinance of July 23d, 1787, on the same subject, provided, that 'the lot No. 16, in each township, or fractional part of a township, to be *given perpetually*, for the purposes contained in the said ordinance.' These ordinances extended to all the lands owned by Congress. They were not repealed, and being in the nature of a contract, could not be, without a violation of public faith. In the instructions, given to the delegate in Congress, in December, 1801, the legislature say, 'And whereas the Congress of the United States have promised, that the section, No. 16, in each township, throughout the territory, should be granted for the support of schools, and No. 29, for the *support of religion*—therefore resolved,' &c. These ordinances were passed before the settlement of the territory began, and were held out, as an inducement to emigrants, to encounter the perils and hardships of settling a wilderness."

district to elect annually three school-directors, a clerk, and a treasurer. Under certain restrictions these householders may impose taxes for certain specified purposes within their district; but they can assess no tax for the support of teachers. The Court of Common Pleas is required to appoint examiners in each county, by whom the qualifications of all persons offering themselves as teachers must be investigated and decided. The school-fund is made up from several sources; 1st, the school-lands reserved by the act; 2nd, from the tax on property already named; and 3rd, from fines and forfeitures for offences. The quantity of land alone is immense, no less than 700,000 acres being the portion which Congress has bound itself, by ordinance, to grant, in the reservation of the 16th section of every township of one mile square, or 640 acres. The quantity actually set apart in 1825 for this purpose was more than 500,000 acres, and was appraised at upwards of 1,000,000 dollars in value. In 1836, an act was passed creating a new office, that of Superintendent of Common Schools, who was to collect all useful information on the subject of the schools and school-districts of the State, and report the same annually to the legislature. The only visible defect in the plan is, that the unhappy negroes and mulattoes are expressly, and by law, excluded from any participation in the benefits of all this; for, though Ohio is a free State, there were, in 1830, upwards of 10,000 coloured people living within its borders; and their very poverty, and the prejudice against their colour, ought to have excited the sympathy of their white superiors, to give them the only boon by which they

can ever be made to rise above their present miserable condition.

Of the higher seminaries of learning there are several; and the principal among them all is one that owes its origin to English liberality and English funds. This is Kenyon College, at the town of Gambier, about 50 miles north-east from Columbus. Bishop Chase, of the American Episcopal Church, visited England in 1825; and by representations made to Lord Kenyon, Lord Gambier, and other friends of the Protestant Episcopal Church, as to the state of religion and religious education in this western country, obtained from them sufficient funds to purchase a tract of 4,000 acres of land, to build a village called Gambier, and to found a college, called Kenyon College, for theological instruction in the principles of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Since the death of Bishop Chase, his successor, Bishop Mc Ilvaine, a very eminent scholar and eloquent preacher, has obtained assistance from other sources to enlarge what had been so well begun; and Kenyon College, which is beautifully situated on the banks of the river Vernon,—the village of Gambier, in which it stands, being washed on three of its sides by the stream,—has now a fine edifice, built of hewn stone, 190 feet long and 4 stories high; besides a chapel, built of the same material, 100 feet long by 66 wide; Milnor Hall, a brick building 70 feet long and 4 stories high, with a preparatory grammar-school, and all the necessary accommodation for the board and lodging of students, of whom there are upwards of 200, with a principal, 12 professors and teachers, and a library of about 10,000 volumes.

Besides this, there is the Miami University, at

Oxford, in Butter County, with nearly 200 students; the Ohio University at Athens; the Woodward College, the Lane Seminary, and the Medical College at Cincinnati; the Athenæum, a Roman Catholic College in that city, educating about 2,000 children under the direction of the "Society of Jesus;" with many select Private Schools for male and female youths of every religious persuasion. There is also a Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers, which has been productive of great benefit, in the various public discussions and printed essays to which it has given rise, connected with the art and science of Education, chiefly from professors and persons of the greatest eminence for learning and piety. A few of the titles of these will show their nature and value:—1. Importance of making the Business of Teaching a Profession; 2. Qualifications of Teachers; 3. Reciprocal Duties of Parents and Teachers; 4. Difficulties in the Government of Colleges; 5. The kind of Education adapted to the West; 6. Union of Moral and Intellectual Culture; 7. Physical Education; 8. Domestic Education; 9. Utility of Cabinets of Natural Science; 10. Agriculture as a Branch of Education; 11. Natural and Moral Influence of Music; 12. Claims of Phrenology on Teachers.

Of religious sects in Ohio, the Methodists take precedence in the number of their members. They have, according to the latest returns, upwards of 80,000 members, 650 local preachers, and 320 travelling preachers, 502 churches, and 65 parsonage-houses for the accommodation of their itinerant ministers. They have also a large book-warehouse in Cincinnati, which is a general depôt for the

Western States; and a religious newspaper called The Western Christian Advocate, which is said to have about 15,000 subscribers. The Presbyterians come next in order of numbers, having 485 churches, 315 ministers, and about 40,000 communicants. The Roman Catholics are thought to be more rapidly increasing than either of the preceding, their present numbers being about 30,000. The Baptists come next in order, numbering 250 churches, 150 ministers, and about 10,000 members. The Episcopalians have about 30 churches, 25 ministers, and 1,500 communicants. In addition to all these, there are Presbyterian Seceders, Campbellite Baptists, Radical Methodists, Moravians, Friends, Swedenborgians, Reformed Lutherans, Newlights or Halcyons, Unitarians, Universalists, Dunkards, Shakers, and Mormonites, the latter rapidly increasing, with some few Jews.

Notwithstanding the number and variety of the religious bodies here enumerated, it is generally asserted and believed here, that Infidelity or Deism is much more prevalent in the Western than in the Eastern States. The people of the Atlantic cities often hear public speakers, at meetings convened for collecting funds for home missions, deplore the destitution of the West in religious teachers and religious exercises. This is often used as an argument why more funds should be raised for building churches there, and sending ministers to officiate in them; and in this supposed destitution, Ohio is often included. But the historian of that State, Mr. Atwater, entertains a different opinion, and expresses it in a manner so characteristic and descriptive as to be worth citing. He says—

"We have swarms of missionaries from the Atlantic cities, and from our own, consisting of Cumberland Presbyterians, Campbellites, Catholics, &c., all in motion to build up their various sects; but they all move forward in peace, and in a good degree of harmony. We see no evils growing out of all these sects, except it be, that the people are not able to support all this *host* of ministers. Fewer of them, and those well qualified for their missions, would be a *vast* improvement. If the people were divided into one-half the sects to which they now belong, and would be contented with one-half the preachers we now have labouring among us; and if the other half of our preachers would travel further West, and officiate there, a great deal of good might be done by this improvement in our religious matters. The people of the Eastern States need not mourn over our destitute condition as to preaching, because we have ten sermons to their one, in proportion to our numbers. There is scarcely a day in the year but there is preaching of some sort, in every town of any size in the State. We by no means say that we have too much preaching; but we do say, that there is no want of it in Ohio," p. 304.

In the early history of Ohio, two legal provisions are mentioned, one exempting all citizens from liability to arrest on the 4th of July, the anniversary of the National Independence, which is still continued; and another which has either been rescinded or has fallen into disuse, though many will be of opinion that it was a wise provision, and might be advantageously adopted in most countries of Christendom. Judge Burnet thus describes this enactment—

"As a further proof, that the legislature were anxious, not only to encourage industry and frugality, but to check idleness and intemperance, they passed an act for the appointment of guardians to lunatics and others, which contained a section, authorizing the appointment of guardians, to persons who were wasting their estates, by excessive drinking, gambling, idleness, or debauchery of any kind, and declaring that after such appointment, no sale, bargain, or contract, made by such person, should be held valid in law."

CHAP. XVII.

Beautiful valley of the Scioto—Works of an earlier race than the present Indians—Resemblance to the circles and mounds of the Druids—Similarity to Pelasgic and Phœnician remains—Absence of all antiquarian taste in America—Gradual disappearance of Indian antiquities—Present state of the town of Circleville—Beautiful scenery—Canal-boat passengers—Arrival at Waverley—Breach in the canal—Return to Chillicothe—Mocking-bird, extraordinary powers of imitation—Passage by tunnelled aqueduct over Paint Creek—Interesting remains of two ancient Indian forts—Tumulus of buried Chiefs—Altar of human sacrifice—Remains of a walled town—Marks of fire—Circular enclosures, and elliptical mounds—Resemblance to the Cyclopean and Pelasgic remains—Remarkable Triune Idol found in a mound—Striking resemblance to the Hindoos of Asia—Murex shell consecrated to the god Mahadeva—Idol of Ganesha found in the Bahamas—Mirrors, steel bows, and mummies of the Indians—Vast number of mounds, and evidences of great population—Arrival at Chillicothe.

Having completed our investigations at Columbus, and being desirous of seeing that portion of the State which lies within the valley of the Scioto river, and is regarded as the richest and most fertile of its whole area, we made arrangements for this journey accordingly. The river not being navigable by steamboats, we could not descend its channel, which I should have preferred, if practicable. The stage-road was said to be so bad generally, and especially so after the late heavy rains, and to be intercepted by so many creeks and tributary streams leading into the Scioto, as to be now actually impassable. The only mode of making

the descent, therefore, from hence to Portsmouth, on the Ohio, was by the boats that make this voyage on the southern-division of the Cleveland and Ohio canal; and with respect even to these, the times of departure and arrival seemed so uncertain, as to make them a most precarious conveyance. But there was no other, and we had no alternative.

We left Columbus on the morning of Thursday, the 30th of April, at half-past eight o'clock, and found the canal-boat quite as commodious as those on the Erie Canal, in which we had traversed part of the State of New York, but with the same inconvenience of coarse and disagreeable companions as fellow-passengers; though the captain, and his wife who superintended the ladies' cabin, were both very desirous to gratify our wishes, and made us as comfortable as their arrangements would admit.

The boat was drawn by three horses, and our rate of speed was about four miles an hour; the canal was in good condition; the weather beautifully bright and warm; the foliage of the woods green, fresh, and fully developed; the pawpaws, the red-bud, and the white and yellow dogwood, in rich and varied flower; the birds making the groves vocal with their song; and everything promising a trip of the greatest pleasure. The land on either side was to all appearance as rich as that on the banks of the Nile, and, like it, a fat black loam of considerable depth. Extensive fields of young green wheat, just showing its blade above the surface of the earth, met the eye continually, and the whole country was a landscape of the most teeming fertility.

The first village we passed on the canal was Lockbourn, about 10 miles south of Columbus; and the second, Bloomfield, about 7 miles beyond it, and about twice its size. We passed through several stone locks, well constructed, and strongly built; and we crossed several creeks, or tributary streams of the Scioto, the river itself being on our left hand, and frequently within sight from the boat; the current both in it and in the smaller streams running with great impetuosity, in consequence of the late heavy rains.

In passing one of these creeks, we met with a new obstacle to our progress, in the wreck of one of the canal-boats, coming up from Portsmouth, which had been crushed in one of the locks, filled, sunk, and now blocked up the way. She was laden almost entirely with whisky, in barrels, which floated, and it cost us about three hours of hard labour, in which all the crews and many of the passengers of both boats were engaged, to raise this wreck from the lock, and so remove her shattered hull as to enable us to proceed. This we did, till we reached Circleville, a distance of 26 miles from Columbus, where we made a short stay to disembark some passengers, and take on board others for places further on; and as the canal passed along at the foot of the principal street, we had an opportunity of seeing the whole place easily.

Circleville is one of the most remarkable towns, for its position, in Ohio. It was first founded in 1810, and laid out on one of the most perfect of all the circular mounds, or ancient Indian forts, then existing in the country. It is nearly in the centre of the Pickaway Plains, the most fertile land in

the whole country; this elevation entirely commanded these Plains and the river Scioto flowing through them; the stream still passing close to the town. The town derives its name from having been originally laid out with circular streets, corresponding with the circular walls of the ancient fort, and embracing also part of the area of a square enclosure attached to this circular entrenchment. The following description of the place in its original condition, from the Introduction to Jenkins's Gazetteer of Ohio, is too curious to be omitted—

"The circular fort consists of two parallel walls, whose tops are apparently about 3 rods (or about 50 feet) asunder, the inner one of which is 47 rods (or 776 feet) in diameter.* Between these two walls is a fossé, excavated sufficiently broad and deep, and not more than sufficiently so to have afforded earth enough for the external wall alone. From this circumstance, among others, the earth composing the inner wall is supposed to have been transported from a distance. Another particular, corroborating this supposition, is, there being a level footway of about 4 feet wide left on the original surface of the ground, between the interior bourn of the ditch, and the exterior base of the inner wall. Although this circumstance is far from being conclusive on the subject, yet the following fact almost infallibly proves this conjecture to be well-founded: this is, that the interior wall is composed of clay, of which the inhabitants manufacture brick; whereas, the exterior circle is composed of dirt and gravel, of a similar quality with that which composes the neighbouring ground.

* A rod is 16½ feet.

"There is but one original regular opening or passage into the circular fort, and that is on the east side from the square one. The latter has seven avenues leading into it, exclusive of that which communicates with the circle; there is one at every corner, and one at each side, equidistant from the angular openings. These avenues are each 12 or 15 feet wide, and the walls on either hand rise immediately to their usual height, which is about 20 feet. The trees which are growing upon these, and upon all other forts and mounds throughout the country, are apparently of equal age and size, and those which are down, are in equal stages of decay, with those in like situations in the surrounding forests. This circumstance incontestably proves the great antiquity of these stupendous remains of labour and ingenuity." p. 22.

That these were the works of a much more civilized race of people than the red-men of the forest, or Indians, encountered by the first European settlers on this continent, there cannot, I should think, be a doubt. Whether they were the predecessors of the Mexicans and Peruvians migrating southward, as some have supposed; or the contemporaries of these nations, and equally well informed, as others suppose, there is now neither record nor tradition to decide; for the Indians last occupying the forests and valleys of Ohio do not even pretend to any knowledge on the subject, which is buried in profound obscurity, and is there likely to remain. It is impossible, however, not to be struck with the resemblance between this ancient fortress of the Indians, according to the description given of it, its

circular enclosures of walls, and its seven avenues leading to the principal opening in these, and the very similar circular enclosures of the Druids, as some suppose—or of the Phœnicians, as others imagine—in various parts of France and England; such as the great circle and its avenue at Carnac, in Brittany; the several circles and their avenues at Stonehenge and Amesbury, in Wiltshire; and the castles and cromlechs in Cornwall, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. I remember also thinking there was a great resemblance between the plan of this fortress at Circleville, and the plan of the city of Old Sarum, such as I saw it when last at Salisbury, where an engraving was published of it, with its circular walls, and circular streets, its separate entrances, and radiating avenues, which seemed the very counterpart of this. Whether these resemblances are purely accidental, or whether they are but fragments, widely separated, of one extensive system, sprung from a common origin, we may never be able to determine. But to antiquaries, at least, these facts will suggest many curious considerations.

In Mr. Atwater's interesting volume, entitled "Western Antiquities," written chiefly at Circleville, the place of his residence, and published at Columbus, in 1833, there occurs the following passage, which is worth transcribing, as showing a greater degree of accuracy in the measurements of the original founders than could possibly have been evinced by any other than a people much more advanced in arts and civilization than any of the races of Indians with whom the white races have

had any communication since their first landing on this continent. He says—

"As the square fort is a *perfect* square, so the gateways or openings are at equal distances from each other, and on a right line parallel with the wall. The walls of this work vary a few degrees from north and south, east and west, but not more than the needle varies; and not a few surveyors have, from this circumstance, been impressed with the belief that the authors of these works were acquainted with astronomy. What surprised me, on measuring these forts, was the exact manner in which they had laid down their circle and square: so that after every effort, by the most careful survey, to detect some error in their measurement, we found that it was impossible, and that the measurement was much more correct than it would have been, in all probability, had the *present* inhabitants undertaken to construct such a work." p. 47, 48.

So little veneration, however, have the Americans for ancient remains, and so entirely destitute do they appear to be, as a nation, of any antiquarian taste, that this interesting spot of Circleville, is soon likely to lose all trace of its original peculiarities. The centre of the town contained, at its first building, an octagonal edifice used as a Town Hall, with an open space all around it; and the streets beyond this were laid out in a circular shape, corresponding with the ancient walls, from whence its name of Circleville was derived. But though the octagonal building still remains, the circular streets are fast giving way, to make room for straight ones; and the central edifice itself is already destined to be removed, to give place to stores and dwellings; so that in half a century, or less, there will be no vestige left of that peculiarity which gave the place its name, and which constituted the most perfect and therefore the most interesting work of antiquity of its class in the country.

The town of Circleville has at present a population of about 2,000, all busily engaged in agriculture, manufactures, and trade; and its position on the canal will no doubt greatly increase its commercial operations. It has 4 churches—an Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, a Lutheran, and a Methodist —with 2 newspapers, and several schools.

On our passage downward, thus far, from Columbus, we had the Scioto river on our right, or to the west of us, but soon after leaving Circleville, we crossed over the river by a fine covered bridge, serving as a tunnel, or aqueduct, for the passage of the canal-boats above the river, and at a height sufficient to secure them from all floods and freshets. It was one of the best constructed aqueducts I had ever seen; while it answered all the purposes of an ordinary bridge for horse and foot passengers also by a side-path, or covered-way, running along by the edge of the canal, and under the same roof.

After crossing this, which was about six o'clock, night soon began to shroud the surrounding scenery in darkness; but every part that we passed, while daylight lasted—the river being now on our left as we descended—was as rich and fertile as the upper part of the valley, when we had the river on our right; indeed, for the great business of agriculture and pasture, it would be difficult to conceive a more fertile and beautiful tract than the whole of that through which the canal passes.

At ten o'clock we reached Chillicothe, and the beautiful day having been succeeded by torrents of rain and a pitchy darkness, we were all confined to the cabin below, where there was much to dis-

gust, and nothing to interest us. The men, all coarse and vulgar in their appearance and conversation, were chiefly engaged in playing cards and backgammon; the women, all less refined than the wife of the captain of the boat, who acted as stewardess or servant, besides being dirty in their dress and persons, and rude in their speech and manners, exhibited a degree of cruelty that we had never witnessed before in the country. They brought with them on board the boat, from Circleville, two children, each suffering dreadfully with the hooping-cough, one being about four years old, and the other seven. When the fits of coughing seized these poor little ones, and the sympathy of those who had never seen them before was powerfully moved by their sufferings, their mothers most inhumanly shook them, and beat them, to keep them quiet; and offered no help whatever to sustain the poor little sufferers under their paroxysms. For myself, I could not refrain from expressing my astonishment aloud, but it produced no effect, the scolding, and threatening, and beating, went on just as before. Both of these women were native Americans, and both chewed tobacco, the only instance I had yet seen myself of the chewing of this nauseous weed by females, though I had heard of others, since we crossed the Alleghannies; but, smoking tobacco, in segars and pipes, is far from being uncommon among women of the lower orders; while nearly all the men, of every rank, use tobacco in one or other of these shapes, and the greater number in both.

At daylight, on the morning of Friday, the 1st

of May, we reached a small town on the canal, called Waverley; and here we heard, for the first time, that two breaches had recently occurred in the canal, between this and Portsmouth, which would render it impossible for us to proceed. We had therefore to choose between remaining here, or returning to Chillicothe to wait till the repairs should be completed; and we gave our preference to the latter. Some few of the passengers, however, whose homes were at Portsmouth, determined to make an effort to proceed by land, and accordingly open carts and waggons were hired by some, and horses were procured by others; when, after losing about half our numbers, to our great gain, for some of the most disagreeable were thus got rid of, we left Waverley at half-past ten, to retrace our way to Chillicothe, which afforded us the opportunity of seeing the very beautiful section of country through which we had passed on the previous night.

The weather was as bright and beautiful as the opening of the month of May could make it; the sky a deep blue, spotted with snow-white and fleecy clouds; and the air as fresh as a May-morning in England; though the scene was warmer and more intensely brilliant in its light. The outlines of the hills that bounded the valley on either side were gracefully undulated, and the hills themselves were wooded to their summits. The forest-trees were in their brightest livery of green, after the heavy rains; the pawpaw, the red-bud, and the dogwood all mingled their varied blossoms with the general verdure; the birds sang so exultingly, that one

might have fancied a general convention of the feathered throng to celebrate some jubilee ; in short, Nature was in her loveliest and most attractive garb ; and it was happiness of no ordinary kind, to walk alone upon the upper-deck of the boat, and feast the senses of sight and hearing, with the scenes, and odours, and sounds, on every side. Mere existence was a pleasure, and gave, in its silent enjoyment, some conception of the Oriental idea of a Paradise, which should consist of eternal repose, amid trees, and flowers, and running-streams, and singing-birds. Among these, the ever-varying notes of the mocking-bird were easily distinguished, from their superior vigour and brilliance above all others. The valley of the Scioto is the favourite haunt of this Caradori of the Woods ; and since we had hung with delight upon the thrilling accents of that sweetest and most winning of all songstresses from our native land, we had heard no warblings that could so well compare with hers, as those of the Rubini of Ohio. Mr. Atwater, indeed, calls him a Shakspeare, not of Stratford-upon-Avon, but of Chillicothe, on the Scioto, and thus describes his doings—

" This Shakspeare among birds seats himself on some tree, where the greatest variety of all sorts of birds dwell, and makes it his business to mock and disappoint them ; hence his common name of mocking-bird. Having seated himself in a proper place, he listens in profound silence to the songs of the several sorts of birds around him. In the vernal season, he makes the love-call of a female of some near neighbour, with heart-stirring melody, until the males come in flocks, to caress their beloved mate ; when, lo ! no such lovely bird is there ; they find, instead of the lovely fair one, a homely brown thrush. Having succeeded

in imposing on one species, he proceeds to play off similar "tricks upon travellers," and continues his play until he is satisfied with his own mischief, and his neighbours' disappointments.

"When the other birds have young ones, he watches their nests, until the parents have left them in quest of food, when, seating himself near their domiciles, he imitates the scream of the hawk, or some other bird of prey. If the parents heed the scream, and come home, very well; but if not heeded by them, he proceeds to imitate the voice of the young ones in the utmost agony and distress; he utters their shrill cry and dying groan, when the affrighted and afflicted parents come flying in the utmost haste and trepidation, to relieve their suffering dying young ones; but, behold, no one is near them, except the innocent, the plain, the honest and candid Mr. Thrush (the mocking-bird), who retires, as if laughing in his sleeve, at the trick which he has played off upon the parents.

"In the evening, after the birds have reared their young ones, and when all join to raise their several hymns of praise, the thrush seats himself in this woodland orchestra, and begins by singing in succession the notes and songs of all the birds around him, beating all of them, in using their own notes and singing their own songs.

"Having thus, as he supposes, carried off the prize in this musical contest, he prepares for his *finale*, by taking his seat on the topmost end of the highest bough of the loftiest tree standing in the highest ground in all the grove, and there he commences to sing his own clear notes, and his own most delightful songs. At times, his wings are expanded, his neck is extended, every feather of his whole body quivers with his exertion of every limb, and his whole soul is exerted to its utmost power to produce the most perfect melody that was ever heard in the woods of Ohio. He continues his own delightful music until after all the other birds are silent and still, so that his own song is the only one then heard in the grove, far and wide, all around him, for a long time."*

We had heard the mocking-bird in great perfection in the woods and on the rivers of the South,

* History of Ohio, pp. 95, 86.

and more especially at Montgomery, on the river Alabama; but the bird of the Scioto, whose notes delighted our ear, was in no degree inferior to that of the Southern stream on whose borders we had listened with intense delight to the sweetest warbler we had ever heard. The two, indeed, were so equally matched in musical powers, that if the single combat described in the "Music's Duel" of the old poet Herrick were to be again performed, the heroes should be taken from the banks of these two streams; and the spirit-stirring vigour of the Northern, blended with the melting tenderness of the Southern bird, would make such music as Shakspeare describes, wafting

> "Like perfume o'er a bank of violets,
> Stealing and giving odour."

After ascending the valley for about four hours from Waverley, through the most beautiful scenery and most agreeable associations that could be united, we crossed over a deep and rapid stream, called Paint Creek, by a bridge or tunnelled aqueduct, high above the surface of the stream, similar to that before described near Circleville. Near this spot, exists an ancient mound, about 5 feet only in elevation, and 30 feet in circumference, composed entirely of red-ochre, which answers well the purposes of paint, and which was probably collected here by the Indians, as a depôt—red being a favourite colour with them for the adornment of their bodies —and from the abundance of this ochre or paint, has been derived the name of Paint Creek.

Here also are some interesting antiquities of the

Indians, consisting of the remains of two forts, at a little distance from each other, and the fragments of a walled town. The two forts are on opposite sides of the stream, and distant less than two miles from each other. That on the south of the creek has one irregular enclosure of 84 acres, one perfectly square enclosure of 27 acres, and a smaller triangular enclosure of about 4 acres. The walls of the enclosure are composed of earth, and are now about 10 feet in height; the gateways are numerous, and from 8 to 20 feet wide; there are several mounds within the enclosures, and some few wells sunk, for the supply of water, down to a level with the bed of the creek. The fort on the north of the stream has also one irregular enclosure of 77 acres, one perfect square enclosure of 27 acres, exactly the dimensions of the square in the other, and instead of a triangular, this has a perfect circular enclosure of 17 acres. The walls are of the same description, and same height as the former, and in it there is a semicircular depôt of red-ochre, or paint, several other mounds, oval and circular, and several wells. Nearly in the centre of the irregular square is an elliptical mound, which is 330 feet long, 165 feet broad in its centre, and 25 feet high. This is composed, not of earth, but of unhewn stones; and an examination of its interior has shown it to be full of human bones, from which circumstance some have supposed this to be a tumulus for the burial of the Chiefs; others, however, have inferred that this was an altar on which human victims were sacrificed, as it is well known that this practice was universal among all the tribes of

Mexican Indians in early days. There is a second elliptical mound, of smaller dimensions, and a crescent-formed one, set around with stones at the edge—and it is near this that the largest mound of red-ochre, or paint, is found.

The most remarkable work of antiquity here, however, is what is considered to be the remains of a walled town, on the southern bank of the stream, and within two miles of the nearest of the forts described. This is seated on a hill, of not less than 300 feet in elevation above the valley, and surrounded in some parts with perpendicular cliffs. The walls that remain are built of unhewn stones, like the Cyclopean or Pelasgic works among the Greeks; and they are carried all round the brow of the hill, enclosing within them an irregular area of 130 acres. There were only two gateways, or places of entrance, into this enclosure, one on the east, which is difficult of access, and the other on the north, which communicated with the stream, from which it was distant about 300 yards only. There are no vestiges of dwellings within the walls; but there appear to be remains of furnaces, blackened with smoke, and with beds of cinders many feet in depth near them; leaving no doubt that metals were smelted and forged here, for weapons or some other purpose; though some again have conjectured these to be proofs of human sacrifices, by burning the victims, as among the Mexicans; regarding this as one of their high-places, at which sacrifices were made to appease the wrath of their deities.

These works are, the nearest 11, and the farthest about 15 miles from Chillicothe, westward of the

town; but, in another portion of this same creek, about 5½ miles only from the town, in the north fork of the stream, are others, on what is called the second bottom; a plain, elevated about 25 feet above the first bottom, or last alluvial deposit of the river; there being three distinct beds or levels, each 25 to 30 feet above the other, between the stream and the foot of the hills. The largest enclosure here is within an irregular square, of about 110 acres, with a smaller one, of about 16 acres, to the eastward of it. The larger enclosure has walls of earth, 20 feet thick at the base; the smaller area has similar walls, but of less width, each about 12 feet in height. There is a deep ditch, of 20 feet broad, on all sides, except towards the river, and around the smaller square. Within the larger area are two perfect circular enclosures, with thick walls and broad ditches, the first having an area of 8 acres, and the second about 4; with six mounds in the principal circle, one only in the smaller one, and six seated between the two, each of which, as far as examined, have been found to contain human bones, and were therefore burial-places, or altars of sacrifice within these sacred enclosures.

But whether these were tombs, or altars, or temples, or all combined, who can fail to be struck with the resemblance which they bear to many of the works of the ancients, in the Old World; from the pile of stones brought from the river Jordan, and heaped up to mark the spot where the Israelites crossed—and the heap of stones at Gilgal, where they encamped the first night—to the "high places" so often mentioned in Scripture as places of wor-

ship, of sacrifice, and of strength? and from these again, onward to the times when Britain was covered with such mounds and elevations by the painted Picts, a race as much like the Indians of this continent, as a similar origin could make them? or again, to the Scythian and Tartar tribes, who, according to Pallas and Clarke, have studded the vast steppes of Russia with innumerable tumuli of a similar description, and between whose ancient Tartar inhabitants and the Indian races of North America, so many resemblances may be traced?

Indeed, from some of the articles found in the mounds of this country, it may be inferred, that the idolatry of the ancient races inhabiting this continent had been derived from Hindoostan. A singular vessel was dug up from one of the forks of the Cumberland river, about four feet below the surface, which contained three distinct heads attached to one block, the centre-piece uniting them being a hollow tube or vessel of clay. A drawing is given of this "Triune Idol," as it is called, and the following is the description appended to this drawing, in the volume of "Western Antiquities," before referred to—

"It consists of three heads, joined together at the back part of them, near the top, by a stem or handle, which rises above the heads about three inches. This stem is hollow, six inches in circumference at the top, increasing in size as it descends. These heads are all of the same dimensions, being about four inches to the top of the chin. The face at the eyes is three inches broad, decreasing in breadth all the way to the chin. All the strong marks of the Tartar countenance are distinctly preserved, and expressed with so much skill, that a modern artist might be proud of the performance. The countenances are all different, each from the other, and denote an old person and two younger ones.

"The face of the eldest is painted around the eyes with yellow, shaded with a streak of the same colour, beginning from the top of the ear, running in a semicircular form to the ear on the other side of the head. Another painted line begins at the lower part of the eye, and runs down before each ear about an inch.

"The face of the second represents a person of graceful countenance, much younger than the preceding one, painted very differently, and of a different colour. A streak of reddish-brown surrounds each eye. Another line, of the same colour, beginning at the top of one ear, passes under the chin, and ends at the top of the other ear. The ears are also slightly tinged with the same colour.

"The face of the third is slightly tinged with vermilion. Each cheek has a spot on it, of the size of a quarter of a dollar, brightly tinged with the same paint. On the chin is a semicircular spot." p. 140.

This description cannot fail to remind all Asiatic readers of the countenances and painted marks of the various castes of Hindoos; the Tartar features, yellow streaks, vermilion spots, and painted circles round the eyes and ears, being such as are seen every day in the streets of Calcutta and Benares, in Hindoostan. The shape of the head and the features are nearer to the Hindoo than to any other standard; and the closely-shaven skull, the protuberant part at the crown of the head, and the small oblong spot at the upper part of the brow, are all perfectly Hindoo. No wonder, therefore, that the idea should have suggested itself to the writer, that this "Triune Idol" might be a representation of the Hindoo triad, Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. It is said, too, that within twenty miles of Lexington, in Kentucky, nine murex shells were found, of the kind so esteemed by the Hindoos, and consecrated by them to their god Mahadeva; and that

in most of the Indian mounds, some of these shells have been preserved.

As a link in the chain of circumstantial evidence as to the connection of the aboriginal Indians of this continent with the Hindoo and Tartar races of Asia, I may mention my recollection of the fact, that when I was in the Island of New Providence, one of the Bahamas, more than thirty years ago, I remember to have seen a small figure of the Hindoo god Ganesha, with a human body surmounted by the elephant's head and trunk, which had been dug up from the soil around a large tree, not unlike the banian tree of India, under which the celebrated pirate, Blackbeard, used to hold his councils of war. It was thought to be an idol of the Carib Indians; but the elephant is not an animal of the American continent, and if this idol of Ganesha were worshipped by any race of Indians, their ancestors must have brought it with them from Asia, but at what period there are neither records nor tradition to say.

The triune vessel before described, stands upon the three necks of the triple-headed deity, which are about an inch and half in length. The whole is composed of a fine clay, of a light umber colour, which has been rendered hard by the action of fire; the heads are hollow, and the vessel contains about one quart in measure.

In proof of some advances having been made in the arts by the ancient races from whom these works have descended, it may be mentioned, that ornaments of gold, silver, and copper, have been found in several of the tumuli that have been

examined. Mirrors, formed of the mica membranacea, have been often met with; urns and vases of well-formed and graceful shapes are found; and at Blacksburgh, in Virginia, about 80 miles from Marietta, on the Ohio river, not long since, the half of a steel bow was found, which, when entire, would measure five or six feet, according to the testimony of Dr. Hildreth. Mirrors and steel bows are mentioned in the Book of Job, the oldest record extant, probably, as used in the land of Uz, long before the days of Moses. Mummies, well preserved in bandages of coarse linen cloth, have been found in considerable numbers in the caves of Kentucky; but the bodies of those whose skeletons are found in the mounds, were either burnt after death, or in the act of sacrifice—the former a practice of the Hindoos, and the latter of the Mexican Indians.

The number of these mounds scattered along the valley of the Ohio and its tributaries, and in the valley of the Mississippi, is much greater than is generally supposed. On this subject, the following testimony of Mr. Brackenridge is worthy of being transcribed. He says—

"The tumuli, as well as the fortifications, are to be found at the junction of all the rivers along the Mississippi, in the most eligible position for towns, and in the most extensive bodies of fertile lands. Their number exceeds, perhaps, 3,000; the smallest not less than 20 feet in height, and 100 in diameter at the base. Their great number, and the astonishing size of some of them, may be regarded as furnishing, with other circumstances, evidences of their antiquity. I have been sometimes induced to think that at the period when these were constructed, there was a population as numerous as that which once animated the borders of the Nile, or of the Euphrates, or of Mexico. The most numerous,

as well as the most considerable of these remains, are precisely in those parts of the country where the traces of a numerous population might be looked for; from the mouth of the Ohio, on the east side of the river, to the Illinois; and on the west side, from the St. Francis to the Missouri. I am perfectly satisfied, that cities, similar to those of ancient Mexico, of several hundred thousand souls, have existed in this country."*

After passing through an interesting and beautiful tract of country, we reached Chillicothe about 4 o'clock, and took up our quarters at an excellent house, Madeira's Hotel.

* Western Antiquities, p. 96.

CHAP. XVIII.

Description of Chillicothe—Intellectual society—Surrounding country—Indian mounds—Journey by stage—Waverley—Piketon—Parallel walls leading to Indian mounds—Raised parallel roads supposed to be for foot-races—Beauty and fertility of the Scioto valley—Extraordinary size and productiveness of corn and wheat—Arrival at Portsmouth—Kind reception there—Advantageous position chosen for the town—Scenery—Public and private dwellings—Religious revivals—Dishonesty in trade—Two white crows, offspring of black parents—Voyage by steamboat from Portsmouth to Cincinnati.

We remained at Chillicothe four days, and passed them most agreeably, in some of the pleasantest society we had met with for a long time. We had the happiness to meet here one of our fellow passengers on the outward voyage from England, a daughter of the celebrated Oriental painter, Daniel, and inheriting much of her father's talent as an artist. She was on a visit here to one of the principal families of the town, and in her and their society we enjoyed as much of intellectual pleasure as could be furnished by any circle of the same extent in England. The lady at the head of this family was one of the most truly accomplished in mind, and ladylike in manners, that we had yet seen west of the Alleghannies, and would have been an

ornament to any sphere in Europe; while the gentlemen were much above the ordinary standard of male society in America.

The landlord of the hotel, Mr. Madeira, was also one of the very few we had met with, filling that station in the West, who could be called a gentleman in mind and manners. He was extremely well informed, possessed an accurate knowledge of the history and condition of other countries besides his own, was a man of taste, fond of scientific investigations, and had a most interesting cabinet of the minerals, fossils, river-shells, and antiquities of the surrounding country—in short, he was in all things greatly superior to the mass of persons who are proprietors of hotels in this country, and who, out of the large cities, are among the rudest, and least civil and obliging, of all the persons with whom the traveller comes in contact.

I was busily engaged during all the evenings of our stay at Chillicothe, in giving my lectures on Palestine, in the Associate Reformed Church, to a large audience, and afterwards delivering a Temperance address to a very crowded congregation in the Methodist church; by which, it was said, considerable additions were made to the numbers of adherents and members. In the daytime, however, we made our excursions through the surrounding country, enjoying its beautiful landscapes, investigating its antiquities, and profiting by the instructive and pleasurable conversation of our companions.

Chillicothe is little more than forty years old; it having been laid out as a town in 1796, by General

Massie, the spot being then covered with a thick wood. The first white man's dwelling erected here, was built by General Duncan McArthur, out of the barks stripped from the surrounding forest trees. It went on increasing so rapidly, however, that in 1802, only eight years after its first dwelling was erected, it was made the first seat of the State and Territorial government. In the court-house still standing, the present constitution of Ohio was framed, and in this building the first legislative assembly for this State held their sittings. The town now contains about 6,000 inhabitants.

The position of Chillicothe is as beautiful as it is advantageous, standing as it does on an alluvial plain, elevated about 40 feet above the low-water mark of the rivers, which bound it on either side; namely, the Scioto, and the stream called Paint Creek, which wash it on either side, as the Schuylkill and Delaware embrace Philadelphia. The town is laid out with great regularity, the streets crossing each other at right angles, and being 60, 80, and 100 feet broad, with excellent side-walks, well paved, and lined with trees on both sides, now in full foliage.

The public buildings include the original small court-house, once used as the Capitol of the State, 4 churches, Episcopalian, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Associate Reformed, an academy, and two large market-houses. There are several cotton factories in the town, a large rope-walk, many flour mills, several banking houses, two weekly newspapers, and a number of large warehouses and stores; its situation on the canal, which passes through the

centre of what was one of its principal streets, making it a place of active business, which is every year increasing.

In the immediate vicinity of the town are several hills, from 200 to 300 feet in elevation, affording most agreeable walks and rides; and in one of them is a sulphur spring, whose waters are in great request. From the beautiful grassy platform on the table-land at the summit of this hill, a commanding and delightful view of the town may be enjoyed. The plain on which Chillicothe is placed, embraces a level of more than 10,000 acres in area; this is all occupied by farms, in the highest state of cultivation, and exhibiting marks of the greatest degree of fertility. The waters of the river and the canal are both visible from hence; while the rich and fruitful plains through which they pass, with the beautifully wooded hills of undulating outline, which hem in this plain on every side, make altogether a most enchanting picture.

There were several Indian mounds in sight from this eminence, though they are every year diminishing; as farmers, on whose lands they lie, have no scruple in levelling them, and ploughing them up with the surrounding soil. But a few years ago, there was one in the very centre of the town of Chillicothe, on the site of which the hotel of Mr. Madeira. where we resided, had been built. To obtain a level site for this, the mound was demolished. The Rev. Dr. Wilson, one of the then residents of the town, and who was present at its opening, says that it was about 15 feet in perpendicular height, and about 180 feet in circumference at the base. It

was composed, not of earth, but of sand, and contained the bones of human bodies buried in different parts of it. When the whole mound of sand had been removed, and the natural level of the soil had been reached, it was perceived that about 20 feet square of the centre had been covered with bark, and on this lay the skeleton of an Indian warrior, over whom had been spread a mat manufactured from the fibres of the bark of trees. On the breast of this skeleton was found a copper ornament in the form of a cross, with a stone ornament having two perforations, one at each end, through which passed the string by which it was suspended round the wearer's neck. The string appeared to be formed of the sinews of animals, and on it were strung several beads made of ivory or bone, much corroded by the length of time it had lain there.

In Clavigero's History of Mexico, several instances are mentioned in which mounds like these were resorted to by the people, when they wished to assemble in large numbers, either for the purposes of worship or defence. The rising sun was often worshipped by multitudes from such eminences; and in the description of the entry of Cortez into the city of Mexico, several of these artificial elevations are mentioned as covered with persons assembled for the defence of their altars and their tombs. It is more than probable that the early races, who inhabited this valley of the Scioto, made the same use of these mounds, which can be traced all the way along both banks of the Ohio to the great valley of the Mississippi, and thence onward to Mexico, growing larger and larger in size, and more and more assuming the

form of the pyramid and tower, till it reaches the great Teocalli of the Mexicans, themselves imitations, it is thought, of the pyramids of Egypt, or the great Temple of Belus at Babylon.

On Tuesday, the 5th of May, we left Chillicothe, by the stage-coach, for Portsmouth, the breach in the canal not being yet repaired. We left the town at 5 A. M., and were fortunate in having only one fellow-passenger, who was both intelligent and agreeable. The day was delightfully fine, and the surrounding country was beautiful; but the road, bad at the best, was now almost impassable, from the late heavy rains, and the rate at which we travelled did not exceed three miles in the hour. We crossed over Paint Creek by a good bridge, the stream itself running with great velocity, and having overflowed its banks by many feet. In our way beyond this, we passed through a hilly country, with uncleared forests, in which were many trees of the maple kind, producing excellent sugar, large quantities of which are made here in the early part of the spring; the troughs for drawing off the sap, were in most instances still at the foot of the trees. We saw a few cows and sheep, but the hogs were innumerable, deriving their chief food from the woods, and returning to their homes at night. In the course of the day's journey, we must have passed a thousand at least, near the roads, and quite as many more were seen in the woods at a distance.

We breakfasted at Waverley, on the edge of the canal, and had opposite to our hotel a new log-cabin, that had been just erected by the Harrisonians, as a political council-house for the meetings of those who

advocated General Harrison's elevation to the Presidency. The national flag was displayed from its roof, and a party of political agitators had assembled around its door, to sing Harrison songs, of which the newspapers furnish an ample supply.

A few miles after leaving Waverley, we passed through Piketon, a small village on the banks of the Scioto river, remarkable for having in its neighbourhood some remains of Indian antiquity, containing three circular and lofty mounds, seated on a hill, and two parallel walls, enclosing a road or passage leading to them. These walls are at least twenty feet high, and the space between them appears to have been artificially levelled, to make the road more perfect. It is thought that these walls may have been intended to admit between them the passage of funeral processions leading to the mounds of sepulchre; while the summits of the walls, which are of inconsiderable breadth, might allow the assemblage of vast numbers of spectators.

In other parts of this valley have been found parallel mounds, broad at the base, narrower at the top, with sloping or pyramidal sides, and a deep hollow between them, running for a considerable distance side by side, from 100 to 150 feet apart, and being connected at each end by two semicircular sweeps, resembling in form the long and narrow link of a chain. These could not have been for processions, like those at Piketon, because these mounds are merely pyramidal walls, connected at each end, so that there is neither inlet nor outlet; they could not have been boundaries of roads, because they lead to nothing; but they may have been places of diver-

sion for the foot-race, as the tops of the mounds have an excellent smooth and level path, of from 30 to 35 feet broad, and the curved sweeps at each end would then have a use and meaning perfectly intelligible. There are three such works as these between Circleville and Chillicothe, and others in the valley.

From Piketon onward to Portsmouth, we had the Scioto river frequently in sight on our right, having crossed it in a ferry-boat, which took over the coach, by a line suspended high across the stream, and a frame-work with two sheaves and two running ropes. These, under the guidance of the boatman, caused the boat to be carried across without oars or steam, but merely by the force of the current, as at Wheeling, though by a more simple and less expensive process even than that. Nothing could exceed the fertility of the country, or the beauty of the landscape. The bottom lands of the valley were completely overflowed; and the whole plain, as we looked down upon it from the sides of the overhanging hills along which we passed, looked like a portion of Egypt, during the inundation of the Nile. As in that country, so in this, the river leaves, when it subsides, a rich layer of alluvial soil, which renders manure wholly unnecessary, and none is therefore used. Yet, such is its fertility, that in no part even of the new States of the West, does corn ever grow to such a height, and in such exuberance, as here. Fields of corn, with the stalks rising to a height of 18 feet, are common all over the valley; and in some particular spots, it has been known to reach the extraordinary height of 25 feet! A single *gallon* of corn is deemed sufficient to plant an acre; and a hundred *bushels*

is the usual return! Wheat, also, in the drier lands, produces 30, 40, and 50 bushels per acre, (the average in England being only 26;) and as this is the great corn and timber country of the West, the log-cabins of settlers, and saw-mills worked by water, for grinding corn and sawing timber, are here abundant.* Certainly, except on the banks of the Nile, I do not remember ever to have seen such appearances of extreme fertility as here in this lovely valley of the Scioto.

We reached Portsmouth about 7 o'clock, having been, therefore, 14 hours in performing 45 miles, or about 3 miles an hour, the fare 2 dollars each; but the roads were in many places so entirely broken up by the violent rains and floods, that we were perpetually obliged to get out and walk, to admit of the empty coach being drawn over parts where no laden vehicle could pass; but the beauties of the scenery were so enchanting, as to reconcile us to all this.

We found a good hotel and cordial friends at Portsmouth, so that our short stay here was rendered agreeable. The situation of the town is extremely well chosen. On a fine level plain, capable of affording space for as large a city as any now existing in the United States, with the Scioto washing it on the west, and the Ohio running along its edge on the south, stands Portsmouth, just at the junction of these rivers; while the steep and richly wooded hills of Kentucky, rising abruptly on the opposite side of the Ohio, to the south of the town, and the beautiful view of the descending river westward, make a picture of surpassing beauty. The excellent landing-

* See the accompanying Engraving.

PLATE X

place, formed by a long sloping beach in front of the town, is quite equal to the levee at New Orleans, or the landing at Pittsburgh, making it easily accessible to the largest steamboats at all depths of water; while the great Ohio Canal, from Cleveland in Lake Erie, terminating here, makes it an entrepôt for goods of all descriptions. The elevation of Portsmouth is ascertained to be 470 feet above the ocean, and 94 feet below the surface of Lake Erie. In the neighbourhood of the town, iron ore is found in abundance; there are not less than 30 furnaces employed in its manufacture, besides 8 water forges, and a large rolling mill. The iron made here is estimated to be worth nearly 3,000,000 dollars annually; and the extent of business done in the purchase, sale, and shipment of goods for transit, on commission, is thought to be about 1,000,000 dollars more.

The most important part of the town is the long street fronting the stream, where the principal stores and hotels are situated; and this makes an imposing appearance from the river. The private residences being chiefly in the rear of this street, on the plain, as well as the public buildings, among which are an excellent Court House, far superior to the State House at Columbus or Chillicothe, a fine Academy, established by the State, and three Churches—Episcopalian, Methodist, and Presbyterian. There are 3 banks, 1 weekly newspaper, entitled The Scioto Tribune, edited by the mayor, and a population of about 3,000 inhabitants; the town having been first founded in 1805.

There had been recently here a most extensive

religious revival, in some of the churches, with protracted meetings, as they are called, of twenty days' duration without intermission; and all who did not join in these extravangancies were denounced as enemies of religion. From all that I could gather, however, from residents here, these revivals did not produce any greater change in the morals of those who participated in them, than similar religious excitements elsewhere; for when they were over, and some said, even while they lasted, there was the same laxity of principle in commercial dealings as ever. Persons living beyond their incomes, defrauding their creditors, telling falsehoods as part of the daily deceptions of trade, speculating to ten times the amount of their means, compromising their debts, and going on again with a capital saved out of the transaction —all these were said to be common even with the revivalists; so that they differed from other persons not so much in their improved morality and refined sense of honour and justice, as in their louder professions and more ostentatious parade of piety before their neighbours. The permanent benefit of such excitements seems, therefore, very questionable at least.

While we were at Portsmouth, we were taken to the house of a resident gentleman to see a pair of remarkable birds which he had had in his possession for nine years. They were crows of the ordinary size and form, but perfectly white. It appears that in the woods within a few miles of the town, a farmer had observed some white crows among the black ones, which excited his curiosity; watching their movements, and tracing them to their nests, he found

that these were the offspring of black parents, like albinos among the negro race. He obtained two, and kept them. In the next year's breed there were others found in the same nest, some black and some white; but after all the pains taken for the purpose, the white pairs could not be brought to breed; and the old pair dying, or being shot, he knew not which, they had disappeared, and this white variety had become extinct. The two in the possession of this gentleman at Portsmouth, were the only ones that now remained. They were about twelve years old, nine of which they had been in his possession, were perfectly tame, in excellent health and vigour; and one of them had, without teaching, acquired the art of repeating words and sentences much more perfectly than any parrot I ever heard. Indeed, it was difficult to be persuaded that it was not a boy who spoke, when the bird exclaimed, "Oh! John," as distinctly as was ever uttered by human lips. In the garden of the gentleman to whom these rare birds belonged, we saw the tulip-tree, which grows abundantly on the opposite hills of Kentucky, a rich wild flowering moss, the coral honeysuckle, white and red roses, and many other beautiful shrubs; and it struck us here, as it had often done since we entered Ohio, that the people of this State are more fond of gardens and flowers, and ornament their dwellings and verandas more with shrubs, than the people of any other State—which adds much to the beauty of their towns, villages, and cottage residences.

On both sides of the Ohio river, near Portsmouth, are the remains of ancient Indian forts and mounds,

similar to these near Paint Creek, and at Circleville. They excite no curiosity, however, among the busy inhabitants, who are too intent on the acquisition of gain, to pay the least attention to anything but that which promises to yield a profit. Some of those with whom I conversed, did not really know of their existence; and even when they were informed of this, they would not take the trouble to walk a mile or two to see them.

We left Portsmouth at two in the afternoon of Wednesday, the 6th of May, in the steamboat Empress, for Cincinnati. She was bound on a trip to the Upper Mississippi, for Prairie Du Chien and Dubuque, and was crowded with emigrant passengers going farther west, to settle themselves in the new territories of Wisconsin and Iowa. Besides the humble furniture and household utensils of these emigrants, with which the decks were covered, there were more than a hundred new ploughs, bought at Pittsburgh, to be taken over to these new lands. Some few of the emigrants were fresh arrivals from Europe, chiefly German and Irish; but the greatest number were persons who had been in the country for some years, who had bought land on the eastern side of the Alleghannies, cleared and improved it, and sold it to a large profit, and were now going farther West to buy cheaper lands, and go through the same process with them.

We had a long conversation with an old man from the County Down, in Ireland, who was well acquainted with many persons known to me in Belfast; he had come out to America eight years ago, had bought a piece of land in Pennsylvania for 120 dollars, lived

in it in comfort, brought up and provided for several of his children, and had just now sold it, with its improvements, for 1,200 dollars, or ten times its original cost. With this he intended to buy a tract of 1,000 acres in Iowa; and in ten years to come, if he should live so long, he would be a rich landed proprietor. Such instances are far from rare, with sober and industrious emigrants; but he lamented to say, that much the greater number of those of his own countrymen who had come out with him, had been carried off by their intemperate drinking; though all who had kept sober, and come out West, had done well, as far as he was enabled to watch their progress.

The river being very full at this time, from the long-continued heavy rains, within a few feet of the surface of the soil in many parts, we glided along at a rapid rate, the boat going about 10, and the current about 4 miles in the hour, so that our actual progress by the land was at the rate of 14. Both sides of the stream appeared to me equally beautiful, the Kentucky and the Ohio; and I did not myself perceive the difference in the state of cultivation, which some persons profess to have observed, and to attribute to the fact of one being a free and the other a slave State. There is more of level soil on the Ohio side, and greater room, therefore, for improved cultivation there; but there were many lovely spots on the Kentucky side, cultivated with great neatness and care.

The scenery of the river grows more beautiful and more luxuriant as you descend the stream. The hills on either side still preserve their soft wavy out-

line, and are still wooded from base to summit, but they recede gradually from the stream, and leave, therefore, a much broader space between the river's banks and the foot of the hills, than is seen higher up. These level plains, or rich bottom-lands, as they are called, are well cultivated, and studded with separate dwellings. In the centre of the stream, are many low islands, beautifully wooded, and in this high stage of the water, many groups of trees are seen growing up out of the river, the little islets on which they stand being completely overflown. From this period, however, the river continues to fall, for 30 feet below its present height, when, in August, it will have not more than 2 feet water in its channel; so that it is then navigable only by the smallest class of boats. It is usually frozen over in January and February, for 4 or 5 weeks, sufficiently hard to be crossed with waggons and sleighs.

We passed Maysville, in Kentucky, about sunset, and reached Cincinnati at midnight; the distance from Portsmouth being 115 miles, and the fare 3 dollars each.

CHAP. XIX.

Central position of Cincinnati—Rise and progress of the city—Scenery of the environs—Plan of the town—Streets, levels, private dwellings, stores, and hotels—Public buildings—Banks—Court-house — Churches—Cathedral — Bazaar, or "Mrs. Trollope's Folly" — Literary institutions—Colleges—Public and private schools—Different sects of religion, and proportions of numbers — Commerce and manufactures — Steamboats, steam-engines, cotton-mills, and sugar-mills—Exports of agricultural produce—Hogs slaughtered—Steam-boat arrivals—Stages and mails—Annual exports—Credit and trade—Public amusements—Religious meetings—Newspapers and periodicals—Ancient Indian remains—Curious articles found in these mounds—Incendiarism and political affrays—Increase of frauds and breaches of pecuniary trust—Dreadful tornado at Natchez—Introduction to General Harrison, Candidate for President: history, personal appearance, and character of the General—State of society in Cincinnati.

We remained at Cincinnati about a fortnight, and as, during the greater portion of this time, the weather was very fine, we had abundant opportunities to make excursions around the neighbourhood of the city, as well as to see everything remarkable within it. My letters of introduction having been numerous, we formed some few agreeable acquaintances among the residents of the town, and I met here an unusual number of persons whom I had known in other parts of the world; one gentleman

from Cornwall, and another from Bedfordshire, in England, four from London, two from Scotland, three from Ireland, and a great number from the larger cities of the United States, whom I had met at New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, and New Orleans, so that we felt comparatively at home among these former friends, and enjoyed our stay here the more, from these pleasant recognitions.

Cincinnati, though now the largest city west of the Alleghanny mountains, and called from her pre-eminence "The Queen of the West," is scarcely more than half a century old: and yet, in that short space of time, she has attracted to herself a larger population, and concentrated within her borders more of architectural beauty in her public buildings, and of elegant comfort in her private dwellings, than probably any city of the same age on the surface of the globe.

In 1789, the spot where Cincinnati stands was a forest, on the edge of which, near the river, was an inconsiderable fort, intended to keep the Indians in check, and protect the few white traders that visited the stream of the Ohio. About that period, a colony of New Englanders, under the name of "The Ohio Company of Associates," came over to the west, with a view to form a settlement here; and the account of their first operations, as given by Judge Burnet, is sufficiently curious to be transcribed. He says—

"Soon after this company had commenced the settlement of their purchase, two or three parties, under Judge Symmes, who had contracted for the lands between the Miami rivers, for the benefit of himself and associates, arrived at the place of their des-

tination, and settlements were begun, almost simultaneously, at North Bend, Cincinnati, and Columbia. Judge Symmes established himself fifteen miles below Cincinnati, on a bend of the Ohio river which extended north, almost to the Big Miami ; from which circumstance, it then received the name of North Bend, by which it is still known. At this place he laid out a spacious city, extending from one river to the other, to which he gave his own name. Many of the first adventurers located themselves at that place, and for some time it promised to rival Cincinnati. Through the influence of the judge, the detachment sent by General Harmer, to erect a fort between the Miami rivers, for the protection of the settlers, landed at North Bend. This circumstance induced many of the first emigrants to repair to that place, on account of the expected protection which the garrison would afford. While the officer commanding the detachment was examining the neighbourhood, to select the most eligible spot for a garrison, he became enamoured with a beautiful black-eyed female, who happened to be a married woman. The vigilant husband saw his danger, and immediately determined to remove, with his family, to Cincinnati, where he supposed they would be safe from intrusion. As soon as the gallant officer discovered that the object of his admiration had been removed beyond his reach, he began to think that the Bend was not an advantageous situation for a military work. This opinion he communicated to Judge Symmes, who contended, very strenuously, that it was the most suitable spot in the Miami country, and protested against the removal. The arguments of the judge, however, were not as influential as the sparkling eyes of the fair female, who was then at Cincinnati. To preserve the appearance of consistency, the officer agreed that he would defer a decision till he had explored the ground, at and near Cincinnati ; and that, if he found it to be less eligible than the Bend, he would return, and erect the garrison at the latter place. The visit was quickly made, and resulted in a conviction, that the Bend was not to be compared with Cincinnati. The troops were accordingly removed to that place, and the building of Fort Washington was commenced. This movement, apparently trivial in itself, and certainly produced by a whimsical cause, was attended by results of

incalculable importance. It settled the question at once, whether Symmes or Cincinnati was to be the great commercial town of the Miami purchase. This anecdote was communicated by Judge Symmes, and is unquestionably authentic. As soon as the troops removed to Cincinnati, and established the garrison, the settlers at the Bend, then more numerous than those at Cincinnati, began to remove; and in two or three years, the Bend was literally deserted, and the idea of establishing a town at that point was entirely abandoned.

"Thus, we see, what great results are sometimes produced by trivial circumstances. The beauty of a female transferred the commercial emporium of Ohio, from the place where it was commenced, to the place where it now is. Had the black-eyed beauty remained at the Bend, the garrison would have been erected there; population, capital, and business would have centered there, and our city must have been now of comparatively small importance."

It was not, however, until the defeat of the Indians by General Wayne, in 1794, that any considerable number of settlers could be induced to fix their permanent abode here. Even in 1795, there were but 500 inhabitants; in 1800, but 750; and so recently as 1813, the close of the last war with Britain, the whole number of its population did not exceed 4,000. From that period, however, it began to advance rapidly, as will be seen by the following scale—

In 1813, it had 4,000	In 1830, it had 27,000
In 1820, „ 10,000	In 1835, „ 35,000
In 1825, „ 16,000	In 1840, „ 50,000

No causes appear likely to retard its further progress, but many seem calculated to advance it at an accelerated rate; and it is quite within the bounds of probability, that before another half century shall elapse, its population will be 200,000 at the least, and perhaps much more.

Like almost all the cities of the United States, the situation enjoyed by Cincinnati is at once beautiful and advantageous. It occupies the northern bank of the Ohio river, at a point where the course of the stream is from east to west, and is nearly midway between the commencement of the Ohio at Pittsburgh, and its termination in the Mississippi; being 455 miles from the latter, and 504 miles from the former. It is distant from New York 900 miles; from New Orleans, 860; from the seat of government, at Washington, 500; and from the western extremity of the State of Missouri, about 500 also. This centrality of its situation, about midway between the northern and southern, as well as between the eastern and western boundaries of the United States, added to the great facility of reaching it by the Mississippi from all the Southern, and by Lake Erie and the Ohio from all the Northern States, seems to mark it out as the future seat of government for the whole Union; while the healthfulness of its climate, and the beauty of its situation, both greatly strengthen its claims to this honour.

In front of the city, and on the opposite banks of the river, on the Kentucky shore, are beautifully wooded hills, forming a background to the rising town of Covington; and behind the city, at a distance of little more than a mile, is a fine background of similarly wooded hills, surrounding the line of the suburbs like a crescent, and already studded with villas and country residences. Along the borders of the river, east and west of the city, are delightful drives, over the smoothest roads, agreeably shaded with large trees, and presenting a constant succession

of pretty ornamented cottages; while the views of the landscape and town combined, which are presented from various elevations on both sides the river, particularly from Mount Auburn, make the environs of Cincinnati as varied and agreeable as that of almost any city in the world.

The plan of the town is remarkable for its symmetry. First, along the bank of the river are ranged the stores and warehouses of Front Street, forming the busy promenade of all the merchants, traders, and passengers by stage or steamboat, arriving and departing every hour of the day. Sloping downward from this terrace is the general landing beach, well paved down to the water's edge; along which the steam-vessels lie diagonally, with the prow of each pointed to the shore, so fastened as to admit of a separate and distinct communication with each, without the necessity of passing over others; and, therefore, all ready to slip out, and pursue their respective voyages, without the least inconvenience to those on either side of them.

Behind this Front Street and water landing, the town extends itself for about a quarter of a mile, on a level plain, forming originally the first bottom of alluvial deposit, and elevated from 20 to 30 feet above the surface of the river. From this level, the town rises by a gentle ascent to a higher bank, or second alluvial bottom, about 50 feet above the lower one, making, therefore, the upper part of the town from 70 to 80 feet above the level of the stream.

The town then stretches itself east and west along the north or right bank of the Ohio, for about three miles, on the two levels described; and extends

itself upward and inward from the river, from south to north about a mile, of which one-fourth is on the lower level, and three-fourths on the higher. The streets that run parallel to the river, from east to west are, therefore, all straight in line, and even in level; and they are named numerically, as Front Street, Second Street, Third Street, and so on, as far as Eighth. The streets that ascend from the river inward, crossing the former at right angles, are all straight also in line, but uneven in surface, being level only on the lower bottom, then hilly as they ascend to the upper bottom, and then level again to the extremity of the town.

The streets are all broad, averaging from 70 to 80 feet, and some few more. They are well paved in the centre with limestone, and on the side-walks with bricks, and are generally bordered with trees for shade, as in Philadelphia. The nomenclature of the streets is, with few exceptions, copied from that city; as, except the Broadway, which is no doubt derived from New York, and Main Street, perhaps from Baltimore, the rest are nearly all Philadelphian; and Walnut, Sycamore, Race, and Vine, intersected by Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Streets, perpetually remind the stranger of the "City of Brotherly Love."

The upper level, on which Cincinnati stands, is 540 feet above the surface of the ocean, and 25 feet below the level of Lake Erie, from which the Cleveland canal flows into the Ohio. The low-water mark of the river at Cincinnati is, however, only 432 feet above the ocean, and 133 feet below the level of Lake Erie; so that the highest parts of Cincinnati are 108

feet in elevation above the low-water level of the river. The city enjoys a great advantage from this difference of levels; as, by every shower of rain, the streets are effectively cleansed, by the rapid passage of the water from the upper to the lower parts of the town, and its ultimate issue into the river; and it is only in years of the highest floods that the lower level of the town is subjected to inconvenience by the overflow of the banks. Such a flood occurred in 1832, but none has happened since; and though the river is now regarded as being much higher than in ordinary years, it is at least 20 feet beneath the lowest level of the town.

An interesting fact is recorded by Judge Burnet, in his account of the early history of Cincinnati, which cannot be better given than in his own words—

"In sinking a well, in 1802, within the circular work above described, at the depth of ninety-three feet, I found two stumps, one about a foot, and the other eighteen inches in diameter, standing in the position in which they grew. Their roots were perfectly sound, and extended from them, horizontally, on every side. Their tops were so decayed and mouldered, that no opinion could be formed, as to the process by which the trunks had been severed. The surface of the earth, at the place where they were found, is one hundred and twelve feet above the present low-water mark of the Ohio, according to the level of Joseph Gest, city surveyor. They could not have been brought there by a current of water, because their upright position, and the regular, horizontal extension of their roots, proves that they must have grown on the spot where they were found. There is another fact connected with this matter worthy of notice. Prior to the time of digging the well, I had never seen a mulberry tree, growing on, or near, the premises; though they were found in the neighbouring forests; yet, the next season, they sprang up wherever the excavated earth had been spread, in such numbers, as

made it necessary to destroy them, and they continued thus to shoot up for several years, though not one made its appearance on any other part of the lot. This fact induced me to conclude, that the stumps, or at least one of them, was of the mulberry kind; and it may give rise to much speculation, as to the producing cause of trees and shrubs generally. In the Mosaic history of the creation, we are informed, that on the third day, God said, 'let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit, after his kind, whose seed is in itself.' The question may be here asked, how far are the facts above stated, accounted for, in this quotation, the authority and verity of which will not be doubted? When the vegetable products of the earth were spoken into existence by the Creator, he unquestionably ordained the means by which they were to be perpetuated, or re-produced; and it would seem, that those means ought to be found in this extract; though it may be difficult to comprehend the manner in which they operate. Would it be unreasonable to suppose, that each variety of tree and plant was originally indued with some quality, virtue, or active principle, peculiar to itself, which, when communicated to the earth, and exposed to the action of the sun and air, produces the germinating cause, indicated by the phrase, 'whose seed is in itself,' and that this agent, be it what it may, can exist unimpaired, in a dormant state, for an indefinite period, if it be kept from the influence of the sun and air? It may throw some light on this subject, to state, that when the town was laid out, the apearance of the forest indicated that the surface of the earth had undergone no material change, probably, in five hundred years; as it exhibited the remains of trees, which had matured, decayed, and fallen, by the side of others still flourishing, and giving evidence that they had been growing some centuries. The stump which was supposed to be mulberry, must have been in the situation, in which it was found, (ninety-three feet below the surface,) for an equal period of time, and yet, when the earth about its roots, was spread on the surface, where no mulberry tree existed, young mulberries immediately sprung up in great numbers. May it not be inferred from this, that the earth about the roots of a tree, impregnated with the virtue, or principle, before mentioned, and suddenly covered

sufficiently deep, to shut from it all action of light, air, and heat, may continue in that state many centuries, and when afterwards brought to the surface of the earth, may produce the same kind of tree, which formerly overshadowed, and communicated to it a re-producing power?* I do not assert this hypothesis, or pretend to account for the facts stated, though I insist, that they do not conflict with the Scriptural record of the creation. The discovery of these remains, however, establishes one point most conclusively, viz., that the site of Cincinnati is alluvial, and that the surface of the earth, where the city stands, was once at least ninety feet below its present level."

The private dwellings of Cincinnati are in general quite as large and commodious as those of the Atlantic cities, with these advantages, that more of them are built of stone, and much fewer of wood, than in the older settlements; a greater number of them have pretty gardens, rich grass-plats, and ornamental shrubberies and flowers surrounding them, than in any of the Eastern cities; and though there is not the same ostentatious display in the furniture of the private dwellings here, which is met with at New York especially, every comfort and convenience, mixed with a sufficient degree of elegance, is found in all the residences of the middle and upper classes; and it may be doubted whether there is any city in the Union in which there is a more general diffusion of competency in means, and comfort in enjoyments, than in Cincinnati. The stores also are large, well filled, and many of them as elegant in appearance, and as well supplied with English and French articles, as in the largest cities on the coast, though somewhat dearer of course. The hotels are numerous

* The germination of seeds of wheat found in the mummy cases of Egypt, after centuries of interment, proves the accuracy of this assumption.

and good, and boarding-houses at all prices abundant. The Broadway Hotel, at which we remained, appeared to us one of the cleanest and most comfortable we had seen west of the Alleghannies. It was kept by a Baltimore family named Cromwell, descended from one of the brothers of Oliver Cromwell, the Protector, who was one of the earliest settlers in Maryland, and has left a numerous posterity in that State. The landlord, Captain Cromwell, who had risen by merit from a sailor before the mast, had a remarkable resemblance, in size, figure, shape of head, and features, to the portraits and busts of the Protector himself. The whole family were highly intelligent and interesting, and their attentions to their inmates far beyond the ordinary standard of courtesy and civility shown at American hotels.

Of the public buildings there are none so large or so prominent as the State House at Boston, the City Hall at New York, or the State House at Philadelphia; nor are there any public monuments like those which have obtained the name of "the Monumental City," for Baltimore. The most classical and ornamental of the public buildings of Cincinnati are the Banks, of which there are several of great beauty. The Court House is a good building, but small, being about 60 feet square only, and 120 feet in elevation to the top of the dome. The Churches, of which there are about 30 in number, are many of them excellent buildings. The largest and most prominent is the Catholic cathedral, with its florid façade, its small towers or turrets, and its lofty central spire, surmounted by the cross. The Presbyterian churches, of which there are not less than six,

are the most numerous, and all of them are good substantial edifices. The Episcopalians have two churches, one in the Gothic style, but not in the best taste, and the other with a fine Ionic portico, which, like the Banks, is a copy of some Greek temple. The Methodist churches, of which there are also several, orthodox and radical, are large but plain structures; and in all those of the other denominations, there is nothing of architectural beauty. The edifice most remarkable for its deformity is the Bazaar, built by Mrs. Trolloppe, and called, appropriately enough, "Mrs. Trolloppe's Folly." It is a grotesque combination of Gothic, Greek, Egyptian, and Norman architecture, having a mean and naked Gothic and Greek front at the entrance, with lofty and narrow portico of Egyptian at the other end, in utter violation of the great characteristics of the Egyptian style, which is breadth and solidity; and a low circular tower surmounting this, with small windows, in imitation of a Norman castle, but wholly destitute of its prominent character, which is massiveness and strength. It is at present used as a Mechanics' Institute, and serves, therefore, a useful purpose, which redeems, to some extent, the deformities of its architecture.

Of the chief literary institutions of the city, I have given an account in the general description of the State of Ohio, in a former chapter. They consist of the College of Ohio, for general collegiate education; the Medical College, for students in medicine only; the Lane Seminary, for theological students; the Woodward Academy, for the education of a High School; the College of Professional

Teachers, as a Normal school; and the Athenæum, the most efficient of them all, under the direction of the Roman Catholics, with a more splendid edifice than either of the Protestant establishments, with abler teachers, more zealous proselytizers, and a larger number of students and pupils than any other single institution. In addition to all these, there are 20 Public Schools for males and females, with 40 teachers and 2,500 pupils; 28 Private Schools, 10 for females, with 15 teachers, and 600 pupils; 9 for males, with 16 teachers and 580 pupils; and 9 infant schools, with 12 teachers and about 300 pupils of both sexes.

Of the religious sects and their respective numbers, at present in Cincinnati, the following is the nearest approximation to an actual census that I could obtain—

Roman Catholics	12,000	Episcopalians	2,000
Presbyterians	6,000	Unitarians	1,000
Methodists	5,000	Universalists	500
Baptists	4,000	Dunkards	100

The Catholics are not only the most numerous, but said to be the most active, most zealous, and most rapidly increasing; their unity giving them great advantages in this respect. The Presbyterians are divided into Old School and New School; the Methodists into Orthodox and Radical; the Baptists into Calvinists and Free-Will Baptists; the Episcopalians into High Church and Low Church; but the preacher who draws the largest crowds is a Mr. Maffitt, a sort of pulpit actor, as well as orator, and who, though a Methodist, is a beau in his dress, and a great revivalist with young ladies.

The commerce and manufactures of Cincinnati, though suffering at the present moment from the general stagnation of trade which everywhere prevails, is still considerable, and has increased in an equal ratio with its population. In the last year, not less than 400 new houses had been built; and yet the demand for dwellings is greater than the supply. In the same year about 50 steamboats, 130 steam-engines, 300 cotton-gins, and 32 sugar-mills, were manufactured by various establishments in this city, for exportation alone. Its agricultural products, shipped at this port for places up or down the river, included, in the last year, 150,000 barrels of flour, and nearly 50,000 barrels of whisky distilled from grain. The number of hogs slaughtered in the neighbourhood of the city, salted, packed, and exported from hence, was nearly 200,000; and, according to an ingenious calculation, made by a correspondent of one of the newspapers, contained so large a supply of hogs' flesh, that if put into sausages of the ordinary diameter, it would make a girdle long enough to encompass the whole globe along the line of the equator! The slaughtering establishments are in the suburbs of the city, and are kept remarkably clean, considering the number of victims killed in each. The steamboat arrivals from up and down the river, was, during the last year, 2,842; and about 60 stages and 80 mails arrive at Cincinnati in each week. The canal from hence to Dayton, a large manufacturing town of the interior, on the road to Columbus, has greatly increased the business of the city; and the annual exports of produce and manufacture are now estimated at 10,000,000 dollars.

The sources of its wealth being more permanent than those of the commercial cities in the Atlantic States, —as agriculture and manufactures afford less ground for speculation than commerce, the money pressure, as it is called, has not been felt in Cincinnati, to the same extent as in New York or Philadelphia; and there have been fewer failures with its merchants or its banks. Still, the curtailment of credit and expenditure has been felt in its effects even here; as fewer persons have visited the city to purchase exports or imports, than in any of the last three years preceding; and by those who reside here, the streets are represented as much less thronged with visitors or buyers than is usual at this season of the year.

Among the places of public amusement is a Theatre, two Museums, a Public Garden, and a Ball-room, but neither of these is frequented so much by the residents as by strangers; the close attention paid to business, occupying all the hours of the men, and the frequency of religious meetings, almost every evening in the week, engaging all the leisure of the women. Cincinnati is, indeed, remarkable for its religious excitements. A popular Methodist preacher, Mr. Maffitt, who sometimes preaches for 15 or 20 nights in succession, draws crowded houses every night, and often adds from 50 to 100 members to the Methodist body in a single evening. But, it is said, that the excitement passing away, the greatest number of the converts find their way back into the ranks of the worldly again. His congregations are famed for the number of young and handsome girls that attend them; and these draw a corresponding number of gay young men. His addresses are de-

scribed as being more to the imagination than the reason; his voice is spoken of as melting and tender, his imagination fervid; and his language eloquent and amatory; and as he indulges in the privilege, when his female converts are young and handsome, of "greeting them with a holy kiss," his popularity is by many thus accounted for. From all the conversations I had with others on this subject, I was confirmed in my opinion, that these religious excitements, in the shape of revivals and protracted meetings, are not so favourable to the promotion of genuine piety and morality, as the more unpretending and tranquil prosecution of the duties of religion in a less exciting form.

There are 13 newspapers published in Cincinnati, of which 6 are daily, 4 Whig, 1 Democrat, and 1 neutral; 4 published in the morning, and 2 in the afternoon. There are three religious journals, 1 by the Methodist body, 1 by the Catholic, and 1 by the Presbyterians; and an Anti-Slavery journal, entitled the Philanthropist. In addition to these are two monthly periodicals of great merit; the Family Magazine, which is in character and utility very like the Penny Magazine of England, but printed in a smaller size; and the other is the Western Messenger, or Monthly Magazine, more light, varied, and literary in its compilations, but both calculated to exercise a favourable influence on the reading community. I should add, that all the journals here seem to be conducted in a more fair and generous spirit, and with more of moderation in tone and temper, than is general throughout the United States; and that such of the editors as I had

an opportunity of seeing personally, were superior in mind and manners to the great mass of those filling this situation in other places.

New as Cincinnati is, as a city, it is not without its antiquities, but these belong to far earlier days than its foundation, and to a race long anterior to that of the present inhabitants. One of the ancient mounds of the Indians was actually under demolition during our stay in the city, and we went several times to visit it. The workmen were clearing it away to make room for some dwellings to be erected in a line with the street, Sixth Street, to the east of Maine. More than half the mound had already disappeared, but so indifferent were those who superintended and those who executed the labour, that they were rather astonished at our inquiries as to whether anything of interest had been found within it. It appeared to have been about 300 feet in circumference at the base, and 20 feet in height; and a sufficient number of bones had been taken from it already, to prove that it was a tumulus or sepulchre of some Indian chief, but no light had yet been thrown upon it beyond this.

At an earlier period in the history of Cincinnati, much more interest was taken in these remains of other days than is felt now; and Dr. Drake, a member of the American Antiquarian Society, in a Description of Cincinnati, written nearly 30 years ago, gives an account of several mounds, which stood on the present site of Cincinnati, and adds a catalogue of the various articles obtained from them by excavation. It appears, from his statement, that there were originally four such mounds. The largest

of these was a regular ellipsis, whose diameters were to each other, as two to one; it lay nearly north and south as to its length, was 440 feet in circumference at the base, and 35 feet in height. These mounds were formed of different layers of material; the first of gravel, considerably raised in the middle; the second of pebbles, convex, and of a uniform thickness; and the third of loam and soil. These strata were all unbroken and entire, and must have been laid on deliberately, after the deposits in the tumuli were made and completed. All these mounds were removed to make room for the streets, and the principal one was nearly in the centre of the city, at the intersection of Third and Main Streets, and from it the following are a few only of the articles that were taken and preserved—

1. About 20 or 30 skeletons, some whole, and others in fragments, some in rude stone coffins, and others embedded in charcoal and ashes. 2. Several articles, whose uses are unknown, made of pure copper, incrusted with the green carbonate of that metal, about the hardness of the sheet-copper now in use, and of specific gravities varying from 7.545 to 7.857, when divested of rust. 3. Masses of lead ore, mica in plates, beads and ornaments of bone, and several marine shells, cut in such a manner as to serve for domestic utensils, with the teeth of the bear. 4. A sculptured representation of the head and beak of an eagle. 5. A bone ornamented with several carved lines, supposed to be hieroglyphical. 6. Two articles like the axis of a wheel, with a hole in the centre, and a deep groove at the circumference, as broad as the hand, each with small perforations,

disposed in equidistant lines, passing from the circumference towards the centre, one made of kennel coal, and the other of argillaceous earth, but both well polished. 7. Pieces of granite, jasper, and rock crystal, with other stones, cylindrical at the extremes, and swelled in the middle, with an annular groove near one end only.

In the interesting volume of Mr. Josiah Priest, on the Antiquities of the West, he mentions that all these mounds on the site of Cincinnati, were on the upper level of the town, as is the case with the present, now undergoing demolition; and he supposes that at the period when they were erected, the lower level, or first bottom, as it is called, formed the bed of the Ohio river. He mentions the following interesting fact—

"A gentleman who was living near the town of Cincinnati, in 1826, on the upper level, had occasion to sink a well for his accommodation, who persevered in digging to the depth of 80 feet without finding water, but still persisting in the attempt, (and going down, according to another account, to 94 feet,) his workmen found themselves obstructed by a substance, which resisted their labour, though evidently not stone. They cleared the surface and sides from the earth bedded around it, when there appeared the *stump* of a tree, three feet in diameter, and two feet high, which had been cut down with an axe. The blows of the axe were yet visible. It was nearly of the colour and apparent character of coal, but had not the friable and fusible quality of that mineral. Ten feet below, the water sprang up, and the well is now in constant supply and high repute."

I made inquiries into the accuracy of this statement on the spot, and found it to be corroborated by many, who had no doubt of its truth. Whether all, however, will agree with Mr. Priest, in the inferences

he draws from this discovery, may be doubted; but they are worth transcribing. He says—

"Reflections on this discovery are these: 1st. That the tree was undoubtedly antediluvian. 2d. That the river now called the Ohio, did not exist anterior to the deluge, inasmuch as the remains of the tree were found firmly rooted in its original position, several feet *below* the bed of that river. 3d. That America was peopled before the flood, as appears from the action of the axe in cutting down the tree. 4th. That the antediluvian Americans were acquainted with the use and properties of iron, as the rust of the axe was on the top of the stump when discovered."

The same author, in another part of his work, gives an account of other antiquities found at Cincinnati, at different periods, which are not enumerated by other authors, but which, by inquiry on the spot, I learnt were also authentic; and it is the more desirable that these records of the past should be multiplied, as in the sweeping destruction which now awaits the antiquities themselves, all trace of the originals will soon be obliterated, and it will only be in the works of antiquaries and travellers, that any memorials of them will be found. The following are his statements—

"At Cincinnati there is a barrow or mound of human bones, situated exactly on the edge of the bank that overlooks the lower town; the principal street leading from the water is cut through it, and exposes its strata and remains to every person passing by. Seven tiers of skeletons lay plainly in sight, where the barrow had caved away, from its being undermined. Among the earth thus fallen down, were found several stone hatchets, pieces of pottery, and a *flute*, made of the great bone of the human leg. This is a very curious instrument, with beautifully carved figures, representing birds, squirrels, and small animals, with perforated holes, in the old *German* manner, which, when breathed into, emitted tones of great melody.

"Among the modern Indians, no such instrument has ever been found. At the time when the street was opened through this barrow of the dead, a great variety of interesting and valuable relics were brought to light; among which were human *double teeth*, which, on a moderate calculation, bespoke men as large again as the present race. Also some *brass* rings, which were considered exceedingly curious; an instance of which is similar to the one before mentioned in this work. Iron rings, as we have before stated, were anciently used among the Britons before the Christian era, as money; and possibly in this case, the brass rings found in this barrow, may be a specimen of the ancient money of America.

"In the same barrow of which I have been speaking, was discovered an *ivory* image, which we consider more interesting, and surpasses any discovery yet mentioned. It is said to be now in the cabinet of rare collections, once in the possession of the illustrious Jefferson.

"The account of the image is as follows: It is seven inches high; the figure full length; the costume, a *robe*, in numberless folds, well expressed, and the hair displayed in many ringlets; the child naked, near the left breast, and the mother's eye bent on it with a strong expression of affection and endearment.

"The next relic of antiquity, discovered at Cincinnati, is a spherical stone, found on the fall of a large portion of the bank of the river. It is a green stone, twelve inches in diameter, divided into twelve sides, and each side into twelve equal parts, and each part distinguished by hieroglyphical engravings. This beautiful stone, it is said, is lodged in the cabinet of arts at Philadelphia. It is supposed the stone was formed for astronomical calculations, conveying a knowledge of the movements of the heavenly bodies."

Without assenting to all the conclusions which have been drawn from these discoveries, it is impossible, I think, for any candid mind, to resist the conviction that these were the works of a race of Indians much more advanced in the arts of life than the tribes of the Twightwees, which, on the first settle-

ment of Europeans here, occupied the banks of the Miami; or the Mingos, the Manahoaks, and the Oniatonors, on the Muskingum, the Scioto, and the Wabash; or the Wyandots and Yeahtentanees, on the banks of the Ohio; all of whom have now disappeared before the white race, scarcely leaving a descendant or representative either here or beyond the Mississippi.

The municipal government of Cincinnati has nothing in it peculiar; it is popularly elected, and is said to work well. The benevolent institutions are not numerous; but a good Hospital, and a Lunatic Asylum, both well managed, may be numbered among them. The city is not free from the general taint which, more or less, affects every part of the Union in its liability to incendiarism, violent affrays, and frauds innumerable, of which it will be sufficient to give in evidence, the announcements and occurrences of the first three days that we passed in it. The following is the caution which appeared in the first newspaper of the town that we saw, the Daily News—

"INCENDIARIES.—We would advise our friends to be watchful of their stores, as the city is at present infested with a gang of incendiaries. An attempt was made, three nights ago, to set fire to the store of Mr. Kerr, on Main Street, but which luckily did not succeed."

In the two succeeding papers of the city, the following were recorded, to show how generally this calamity is spreading itself all over the country—

"CONFLAGRATION AT LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS.—The Little Rock Advocate of the 27th April, says that they have to announce one of the most destructive fires that has ever visited that city.

The fire broke out on Sunday morning, the 26th, about four o'clock, in the house owned and occupied by Messrs. Stevens & Woods, and known as the 'RECESS,' and destroyed all the buildings on the block, with the exception of two. The fire is supposed to have been the work of an incendiary."

"PONTIAC, April 30.—We hasten to announce the heart-rending intelligence that our late flourishing village is now one almost universal heap of ruins. The flames, from both sides of Saginaw Street, now mingled into one, presenting a vast and uninterrupted sheet from one side to the other, and reaching far over to the east, consuming everything in its course."

"A TREMENDOUS EXPLOSION.—On Sunday evening, May 10th, about nine o'clock, an outbuilding of the St. Louis Arsenal, situated about two miles below the city, blew up. In the building there were about 100,000 cartridges, all of which, together with the house, is completely demolished. In an adjacent building there was an immense quantity of gunpowder, which was only saved by the cool and intrepid conduct of the soldiers. The loss is estimated at about 10,000 dollars, supposed to be the work of an incendiary."

Of affrays, there are not so many in general arising out of political disputes, as from personal quarrels on other matters; but of late, since the almost nightly exhibition of scenes of the greatest disorder in the Halls of Congress, and of many of the State Legislatures, the constituents follow up the example of their representatives, and proceed from words to blows. The following is the record of one affair of this description, which transpired in the little town of Covington, across the Ohio, opposite to Cincinnati, and though in another State, Kentucky, yet forming a suburb of the city, and inhabited chiefly by Cincinnati settlers—

"An affray, growing out of politics, occurred at Covington, Kentucky, on Saturday evening last. A gentleman was

publicly reading, in a bar-room, an account of the murder of Mac Laughlin, of Baltimore, when a fiery Locofoco exclaimed, as we have been informed, that he wished two or three hundred of these Whigs had been killed. He was instantly replied to, which provoked him so much, that he drew a knife, and made at the person who had rebuked him for his language. Several wounds were inflicted by the knife, but we learn that none of them are dangerous. The gentleman cut, broke a chair over the head of his assailant, and bruised him so that his life is despaired of."

Besides murders and affrays, which seem to be increasing in number and atrocity, the intelligence from all parts of the country shows an increasing recklessness of character in pecuniary transactions and matters of trust, which is calculated to destroy all confidence in men of the most respectable ranks in life. The absconding of treasurers of banks and charitable institutions, carrying off the funds committed to their care, is become so common, as hardly to excite more than a momentary notice when they occur, though the sums of which the shareholders and depositors are thus plundered, amount often from 100,000 to 500,000 dollars; and in the Slave States of the South, they go off in armed bands, and force their way in broad and open day beyond the reach of justice. Here is an instance of this, recorded in a Cincinnati paper, of May 20th—

"Brandon Bank.—The Vicksburgh Sentinel says, that Wm. H. Shelton, President of the Brandon Bank, and Samuel M. Puckett and Richard Hobson, Directors of that institution, have left Mississippi for Texas. They took with them 300 negroes. Shelton armed 50 of his negroes, and procured 10 armed white men, to enable them to force their way out of the State. The others withdrew in the night. The marshal went in pursuit, but could not overtake them.—*Commercial Bulletin.*"

The weather, during our stay at Cincinnati, was remarkable for its oscillation from one extreme to another. Between the 7th and 21st of May, the weather was sometimes cold enough to require fires and a great coat, and at others it was as scorching as in Bengal in June. There were many very beautiful days at intervals, but the changes were often so sudden, as to oblige a change of apparel in the middle of the day. The river had fallen no less than 32 feet in about 14 days, and the elements above appeared to be sometimes in violent commotion, though we had but little thunder, lightning, or rain. Farther down the Mississippi, however, about this period, a tornado was experienced, which is said to have been the most violent ever known in this country, and the details of which are thus given in the Cincinnati Gazette, of the 20th of May—

"AWFUL TORNADO.—By the attention of Mr. Abbot, of New York, who has just arrived here from Natchez, (in the steamboat Wm. French, via Louisville,) we have obtained the particulars of one of the most destructive tornadoes that has ever been witnessed on this continent—equal to many of those that have swept over the West Indies. It began at Natchez, on Thursday, the 7th inst., at 2, P. M., and passed over the city, apparently from a south-east direction, and destroyed about two-thirds of all the buildings in the city; amongst them were every building under the hill, except Mr. Cotton's grocery, (a small building which was partially injured); the beautiful grove of trees around the Court-house is wholly prostrated, and the Court-house itself partially destroyed; all the banks except the Commercial; every hotel except the Mansion House, which was partly blown down. The Planters' and Parker's Hotels were completely obliterated, and nothing left but a pile of bricks. The fine grove of trees, and the handsome buildings adjoining the Planters' Hotel, were

all destroyed. The long row of China trees that lined the brow of the hill, and made so beautiful an appearance from the river, were all destroyed; also the Light House, erected by the United States Government some twenty years since; the cotton press; both steam saw-mills; the steeple of Second Presbyterian church, and a part of the building itself, were also destroyed. The Rail-road depôt was blown down, and 9 dead bodies had been taken from the ruins.

"On the river, in front of the city, the effects of the tornado were equally awful. The steamboat Hinds was blown into the river and sunk, and all the crew and passengers, except four men, were lost; the number of passengers on board was not known. The captain was said to be on shore at the time, but had not been seen. The steamboat Prairie had just arrived from St. Louis, freighted with lead; her upper works were swept off down to her deck, and all the crew and passengers were presumed to be lost; the number of passengers was unknown, but four ladies at least were seen on board just before the disaster. The steam-boat H. Lawrence, and a sloop, were in a somewhat sheltered position at the Cotton Press, and were severely damaged, but not lost. The steam ferry-boat was sunk, and out of 120 flat boats that lay at the landing, all were lost but four, with most of their crews. The wharf-boat Mississippian, used as a hotel, grocery, &c., was lost. A tax had been recently laid at Vicksburgh on all flat boats, so that many had dropped down to Natchez, which accounts for the unusually large number there at the time.

"The destruction of property, of course, is immense, and no estimate can yet be formed of its amount; and we regret to add that the number of lives lost is also very great. The William French passed Natchez only twelve hours after, and at that time the citizens were entirely engaged in taking out the dead bodies from the ruins. Seven ladies had already been taken from the ruins of the Steamboat Hotel. The loss on board the flat boats must have been awful, as it is reasonable to presume that at least two persons were on each boat, which would make the number lost in this manner upwards of two hundred. The estimates on the spot, by the citizens of Natchez, varied from three to seven hundred persons.

"The tornado crossed the river to Concordia, and destroyed the Court-house, Jail, and other buildings, and most of the trees. It then seemed to change its course, and passed up the Louisiana bank of the river, destroying most of the trees in its course; its effects on trees were visible as far up as Vicksburgh.

"The tornado lasted but a few minutes at Natchez; to use the words of those who saw it, 'it passed over the city like a flash of lightning;' during the forenoon it had been uncommonly windy. At points higher up the river, it was accompanied by a heavy fall of rain."—*Chronicle.*

One extremely unfavourable part of the American character, appears to me to be the absence of sympathy with sufferers, unless of their own immediate family or kindred. So great a destruction of human life, in any other country than this, would have called forth public meetings, resolutions of condolence with the survivors, subscription of funds for the relief of the distressed, committees of correspondence and superintendence, and the raising and remitting, without delay, some substantial assistance to the sufferers. But here, in this large and flourishing city, between which and Natchez there is a daily communication by the river, the reports of this calamity did not appear to me to make so much impression as the news of the loss of a single ship would have done in almost any country of Europe. No strong feeling of sorrow for the event was visible, either in the countenances or language of those who spoke of it; no proposition emanated from any one as to any relief to be afforded; but it came and passed away as rapidly almost as the cloud that spread so much devastation in its track, and was forgotten in a day or two after its occurrence.

That this was not from want of means, but want of feeling, may be sufficiently proved by the fact, that for political purposes, almost any amount of money can be raised, and expended freely, where parade, and triumph, and party-display are to be purchased with it. Within the present month, for instance, a Whig Convention has been assembled at Baltimore, in Maryland, for no other purpose than to pass certain resolutions, which could just as well have been passed in each separate State at home, and to make a "proud demonstration," of Whig numbers and Whig force, in favour of General Harrison, their Candidate for the Presidency. The number of delegates alone, from the several States and towns of the Union, is said to have exceeded 20,000; and the number of visitors to Baltimore not going as delegates, but as spectators, was estimated at more than 100,000. The cost, in log-cabins, banners, carriages, and other displays in the procession—in the journeyings to and from the near and distant stations—and the maintenance per day of the vast multitude there assembled, whether at their own or other men's charge—could not have been less than 2 dollars per day, per head, for 120,000 persons, spread over an average period of 10 days at the least. Here is, therefore, an idle expenditure of more than a million of dollars, for mere empty parade and show; but if two millions of dollars had been necessary, it would have been forthcoming, and that too from the very party who are most loud and bitter in their lamentations over the "hard times;" most violent in their denunciations of the administration for having brought the

country to a "state of starvation," for such is their language; and who, indeed, when charity is demanded, and benevolent assistance to fellow-creatures in distress is needed, shut up their hearts and their purses, and complain that it is impossible to give, owing to the hardness of the times.

I had an opportunity of being introduced to General Harrison, whose farm is within 16 miles of Cincinnati, at North Bend, on the Ohio, near the junction of the State with Indiana, and who comes almost daily to this town on business. He was here sitting for his bust, to a young man of great talent in that art, Mr. Brackett, who had modelled an excellent likeness of the General, and invited me to see it, and give him my opinion of it, as compared with similar works of art in Europe. It stood very high in such a comparison, even when judged by the best standards. The General, however, was not a favourable subject for the sculptor; for though his features are regular and agreeable, and his eye clear, dark, and brilliant, all of which would be accessories to a fine painting or portrait, yet there were no bold or prominent developements to give force of character or dignity to the bust of the modeller.

The General, whose father was one of the original signers of the Declaration of Independence, and whose own life has been spent in the civil and military service of his country, has great claims to rewards for the past; but, from all I could learn or judge, no higher claims to elevation for the future, than that he is the only public man around which the discordant elements of the Whig party can be

made to join in union. Every one admits that Mr. Webster is a man of much more commanding intellect; but then the Slave States would never vote for him as President. Mr. Clay is confessedly also a much greater statesman; but him the Abolitionists repudiate, because he is a slave-holder. General Harrison is in a happy state of neutrality, or rather obscurity, on all the great leading points which divide the community. As the young sculptor was unable to present in his bust any prominent characteristics, so his committee can find in his opinions no very prominent view on any great topic; and as they have forbidden him to answer any questions, and undertaken the guardianship of his conscience till the Presidential election is over, they do all they can to keep up this obscurity and uncertainty respecting the policy which the General is likely to pursue if elected. All they ask is, that he shall follow out the views of the party that elect him, and to this his complying disposition assents. It is therefore to the absence of all prominent objections, rather than to the presence of any great qualities, that the General will owe his success: his virtues will be negative, and not positive. He comes the nearest to a political nonentity of any public man that they can find, and there is therefore less to say against him. He is like the perfection of a king's speech, which is required to contain the least debateable matter, and the fewest ideas, couched in the most plausible phrases. As a soldier, there is every reason to believe he did his duty; as a Governor of a Territory, he was just, mild, kind, and accessible; as a Clerk of the County Court, which office he now occu-

pies in Cincinnati, he is said to be honest and faithful, though his duty is done by an under-paid deputy; as a farmer, he is industrious and careful; as a friend, amiable and agreeable; but, as the Head of a Great Republic, he will be nothing—but what his advisers may happen to make him. His whole air, appearance, manner, and character, is that of a good-natured, common-place gentleman of 70, who would rather be let alone to pursue the even tenour of his way, if he could have his own choice, but who is too good-natured to refuse to be put up as a mark to be shot at, for the gratification of those who surround him. If his reign should be as placid and as virtuous as his own character, it will be a happy thing for the country to have chosen him; but his very gentleness and amiability will make him more easily the victim of those fiercer and less virtuous dispositions, who will turn his power into the channels into which, if left to his own guidance only, he would never think of directing it.*

The leaders of the Whig party, therefore, seeing that feeling, impulse, enthusiasm, and party tactics, must be more relied upon for the General's election than calm reasoning, comparison, and investigation, —appeal almost wholly to the sympathies, the passions, and the imaginations of their followers. The "log-cabin," as the emblem of their faith, is as sacred in their estimation, as the cross in the eyes of a devout Catholic, or the crescent in those of a pious Moslem. "Hard Cider," is a motto that

* Short as was the career of General Harrison as President, these anticipations were completely fulfilled, during the brief period of his administration.

works upon their brain with the same effect as "Rule Britannia" on the ears of English seamen, or "Victory or Death" on those of a French soldier, though on the score of elegance, it is inferior to both. But it is a watchword and nothing more; and like the cry which rent the air, but a few years ago, "Hurrah for Jackson!" it seems carrying everything before it. When you ask the vociferators of these idle words, what they mean, or wherein the principles of their candidate differ from those of his opponent, they are scarcely able to utter a reply, beyond that of "The Currency," and end by shouting "Log Cabins and Hard Cider for ever." In almost every town, a log-cabin is actually built by the Whig party, and kept as a Political Council House; in every town there is a Log Cabin Newspaper, issued for 50 cents or a dollar, to cover the whole period till the Presidental election is over; and on all these are various sketches of the old General at his log-hut door, (though he really lives on a beautiful farm, and in an excellent mansion,) with his barrel of hard cider outside it; and this is the stereotype picture of the future President of the United States, presented in a hundred newspapers at least, to the daily gaze of their admiring readers, with these mottoes—

"Gentlemen, if ever you come to Vincennes, you will always find a plate and knife and fork at my table, and never find the string of the door-latch pulled in.—*General Harrison's Farewell to his Soldiers.*

"In all ages, and in all countries, it has been observed, that the cultivators of the soil are those who are least willing to part with their rights, and submit themselves to the will of a master. —*Wm. H. Harrison.*

"THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.—May they ever remember that to preserve their liberties, they must do their own voting and their own fighting.—*W. H. Harrison.*

"The blessings of thousands of women and children rescued from the scalping knife of the ruthless savage of the wilderness and from the still more savage Proctor, the English General, rest on Harrison and his gallant army.—*Simon Snyder's Message to the Legislature, Dec.* 10*th*, 1813.

"The broad banner of Harrison, Liberty, and the Constitution, is now flung to the breeze, inscribed with the inspiring words of the eloquent Barbour—'One presidental term—the integrity of the public servants—the safety of the public money—and the general good of the people."

The state of society in Cincinnati is like that of most provincial towns; and greatly inferior, as far as I could judge, to that of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans. A general appearance of competency and comfort everywhere prevails; but there is little of elegance in the manners of the people. There is not so literary a taste, nor so extensive an acquaintance with matters of science, art, and general knowledge as at Boston, though there is quite as much pretension; and the Cincinnatians, to judge by their conversation, not only think the United States the first country in the world, but Cincinnati the most intellectual and best-informed of all its cities. There is nothing like the style of New York, or the quiet elegance of Philadelphia, to be seen among the richest families here; and they are still farther removed from the cordial warmth of hospitality which characterizes Baltimore, and the Southern cities, especially Charleston and Savannah. They seemed to me, with very few exceptions, the coldest, most

apathetic, and least hospitable of all the people we had met with in the Union; and I do not think there is a city in the country, the inhabitants of which think so highly of themselves, and affect such superiority over strangers and foreigners, as Cincinnati; though they are nearly all of them strangers themselves, being a collection of persons from all parts of the globe, from every section of the Union, and more heterogeneous perhaps than any other 50,000 persons settled on any other spot.

Judge Burnet, in his Letters from Cincinnati, written in 1837, and published in the Transactions of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, gives a fearful picture of the ravages of intemperance here, among the profession of which he was a member; these being his words—

"When I came to the bar at this place, there were nine resident lawyers engaged in the practice. I have been for several years the only survivor of that group, all of whom became confirmed sots, and have gone to untimely graves, except my brother, whose life was terminated in 1801, by a rapid consumption."

The celebrated traveller, Volney, visited Cincinnati, in 1796, and Judge Burnet gives the following curious account of this remarkable man—

"In the fall of 1796, the celebrated author, Mons. Volney, who had traversed the State of Kentucky on foot, carrying his wardrobe in an oil-cloth, under his arm, arrived at Cincinnati, and took lodgings at Mr. Yeatman's, the principal hotel in the place. Being an inmate of the same house, I became acquainted with him, so far as an acquaintance could be formed, with a person who was determined not to be social with anybody. Governor St. Clair was lodging at the same place, and attempted in vain to penetrate his object; which seemed to be political as well as scientific. Many believed him to be a spy, sent to ascertain the

state of public feeling in the western country, in reference to a separation from the Union. That opinion was considered plausible, by the circumstance, that his journey was undertaken very soon after the project, ascribed to Judge Sebastian and others, to detach the Western country from the United States, had gained publicity; and also by the mysterious reserve which marked his general deportment. If such was his errand, a more unsuitable agent could not have been selected. He was retiring, unsociable, and unusually credulous. Several officers of the army, who travelled with him from this place to Detroit, availed themselves of that weakness, very much to their amusement. When they were at Greenville, the old encampment of General Wayne, they persuaded him to believe that the waters of the Ohio, in very high freshes, backed up to the falls near that place; though a little reflection would have convinced him, that the foot of that fall was higher than the top of the highest hill on the Ohio river. However justly celebrated for his learning, and however much at home in literary circles, he was very much out of place in such society as he generally found on his Western tour."

CHAP. XX.

Journey to Dayton, up the valley of the Miami—Pass through Sharon and Lebanon—Fine farms—Shaker village of Union, near Lebanon—Approach to Dayton—View of the town beautiful—Description of the town—Plan, population, buildings—Manufactories—Resources—Surrounding country—Remarkable English persons met at Dayton—Visit to the Shaker village of Watervleite—Dinner at the Shaker village—Character of the Elders—Society on the decline—Alleged causes of this—Instances of infatuation and delusion in the members—Hunting the Devil—Religious Revivals in Kentucky—Defalcation of the Treasurer of Union Establishment—Causes in operation to diminish their numbers—Journey from Dayton to Cincinnati, by the Miami valley—Ancient Indian forts and mounds on the Great and Little Miami—Beautiful road along the banks of the river.

Being desirous of seeing the valley of the Miami, and examining a portion of the interior of the State, from Cincinnati northward to Dayton, I availed myself of the opportunity to make this journey by land. We accordingly left Cincinnati in the Dayton stage, at half-past eight in the morning, and ascending the green hills to the back of the city, were soon completely in the country, where the many pretty villas, with neat gardens and shrubberies, exhibited more of taste and love of rural embellishment, than anything I had seen west of the Alleghannies. The road was an excellent macadamized turnpike, with good toll-gates; the

country was beautifully fertile, and extensively cultivated on both sides; and after a pleasant ride of 13 miles, we reached the village of Sharon, a place of about 500 inhabitants.

From hence, as we proceeded onward, the country grew still richer in appearance, and fine farms were seen in constant succession, with wheat about a foot above the ground, and full of promise. The white oak and the sycamore were the predominant trees, but not a single pine was anywhere visible among them. The dogwood still continued to exhibit its rich white blossoms in exuberance, and cattle were grazing in the richest pastures. Our rate of travelling was about 6 miles an hour, and we reached Lebanon, a distance of 30 miles from Cincinnati, soon after one o'clock, to dine. This is a town of about 2,000 inhabitants, which was first laid out in 1803, and has now 3 churches—1 Presbyterian, 1 Methodist, and 1 Baptist—with 2 weekly newspapers, and a rapidly increasing population.

There is a large Shaker village, called Union, within 6 miles of this, but as our road did not pass nearer to it than at this point, we did not visit it. The country became more level from this spot, and apparently of increased fertility; the road was cut through the forest perfectly straight, so that the vista extended several miles ahead in a straight line. Though the ground had been cleared for 30 years in this section of country, there still remained a great number of the stumps of the largest trees still in the ground; yet wheat had been grown in these fields for 20 years and more. Fourteen miles beyond Lebanon brought us to a pretty little

town called Centreville, standing on an elevated rise of land, with about 1,000 inhabitants; here we learnt the disagreeable intelligence that one of the public stages had been upset on the preceding day, near this place, and every one of the passengers wounded—one so seriously as to render it necessary to place him in a dwelling by the road-side, there to await his recovery.

About 6 o'clock we drew near to Dayton, and on coming to the brow of a hill, about a mile before entering the town, the view of Dayton, with its white dwellings, tall spires, and pretty gardens, amid the meanderings of the river, and the branching turns of the canal, formed as pretty a picture as could be imagined. I remember nothing like it since seeing Milledgeville, in Georgia, as you approach it from the south-west; but Dayton was the prettiest of the two. On entering the town, we alighted at the National Hotel, obtained agreeable apartments, and sat down to a table, at which, for the first time since being in America, I saw thin slices of bread and butter heaped on a plate, after the English fashion, of which I partook with great zest, and only regretted that a few other English modes of preparing food were not more generally adopted in this country, where the materials are excellent, but where the greatest number of them are really spoiled in the preparation.

Dayton is one of the prettiest inland towns in the country. Indeed, it would be admired for its beauty anywhere. It is seated on the east bank of the Great Miami river, immediately below its confluence with a stream, which, from the rapidity of

its descent, is called the Mad River, and a mile below another tributary, which, from its comparative tranquillity, is called the Stillwater. Its plan is symmetrical, and all its streets are of ample width, from 120 to 130 feet, with excellent side pavements, bordered on each side with trees, and on a perfectly level area. It was first laid out in 1795. In 1810, it had about 400 inhabitants, and at present it has about 5,000. Of these, about 400 are coloured persons, who live in a little colony apart from the whites; the feeling of prejudice against colour being stronger here in Ohio, as a Free State, than it is in Kentucky, and other Slave States; and the Abolitionists are consequently objects of especial hatred and scorn.

There are 9 churches in the town—1 Episcopal, 2 Presbyterian, New and Old School; 1 Lutheran, 1 New Light, 1 Methodist, 1 Baptist, 1 Swedenborgian, and 1 Universalist. Amidst this number and variety of sects, there is said to be considerable jealousy and ill-will; and, as from their number, compared to the population, all the clergy are scantily paid, the voluntary-system seems to work less favourably here than elsewhere. I was assured by several residents, that though there was considerable wealth in the town, there was less of disposition to apply any portion of it to the support of education, religion, or benevolence, than in almost any community of a similar size in the country. There is an Academy, supported by the funds of the State, and 6 common schools, at which about 1,000 pupils are receiving education. There are also 3 weekly newspapers, and a "Log-

Cabin Advocate," devoted to the election of General Harrison ; but except newspapers, little else is read —and the book-trade is said to be the dullest of all here.

In consequence of the abundant water-power obtained from the rapid current of the Mad River, there are many manufactories here—6 of cotton for spinning, employing about 600 hands, and 1 for weaving by the power-loom, capable of producing 3,000 yards a day. There is a large carpet-manufactory also, the productions of which struck me as quite equal to those of Kidderminster, in England, but its operations are temporarily suspended, from the general stagnation of trade. In addition to these, there are two manufactories for gun-barrels, several machine-shops, for agricultural implements and machines; a large clock-factory, making 3,000 clocks per annum, of a common kind; an ingenious piece of machinery for making boot and shoe lasts, and another for making pegs; as well as one for turning out all the wood-work of a plough complete; and besides these, are several flour and saw-mills, and distilleries. The facility of transport by the canal, and the abundance of water-power, cannot fail to increase the settlers here rapidly, while the rich and beautiful country around it must make it a valuable depôt for agricultural produce, as well as a great market for cattle.

As usual, I met some English persons here, and among them two remarkable characters, one was a former secretary and amanuensis of the late William Cobbett, who had been in his confidence and employment for some years, at Barn Elms, Putney,

and in Bolt Court, Fleet Street; and who left England about ten years since, just before the Reform Bill was passed. The other was an old gentleman of 84, from Farnham, in Surry, who had been, in youth, acquainted with Pitt, Fox, and Sheridan, but left England in 1795, and had never returned since. This latter gentleman had been a schoolfellow of the late Lord Farnborough, and was full of anecdotical reminiscences of the three great statesmen named, as well as of the late Dukes of Bedford and Buckingham, and other public men of his day; while Mr. Cobbett's secretary was as full of anecdotes of his time and circle—of Crown and Anchor Meetings—of Burdett and Hobhouse—of Westminster Elections—of the Gridiron and the Register—and of Mr. Cobbett's peculiarities, private as well as public. It was entertaining and agreeable to me to hear so many new things of so many remarkable men; and yet my own gratification was still much below that of the narrators, who notwithstanding their disparity of age, the one being less than 40, and the other 84, seemed to take an equal delight in indulging their garrulity; and each seemed to be exquisitely happy in the relief which this outpouring of their pent-up recollections of England and Englishmen afforded them. Both confessed, that no length of residence had made them like the land of their adoption as well as that of their home; but both were prevented, by circumstances, from indulging their desire to return.

Hearing that there was a Shaker Settlement near Dayton, I availed myself of the opportunity which was offered to me of visiting it, in company

with a gentleman of the town, who was intimately acquainted with the elders of the establishment. It lies about 4 miles east of Dayton, and is called Watervleite, the original Dutch name of the first Shaker village ever founded in the United States, and at which the head of the sect, Mother Ann Lee, as she is called, resided, near Albany—a description of which has been given in an account of our visit there, in a preceding volume.

The Watervleite of Ohio is not so extensive a settlement as the original one of that name, in the State of New York, and never at any time had more than 200 members belonging to it. It is seated in a fine farming-country, and has about 500 acres of land belonging to it, worth from 25 to 50 dollars per acre. It is chiefly devoted to the growth of wheat and other grain, with meadows for pasture, and orchards for fruit. The dwelling inhabited by the members is a large and substantial brick building; and though marriage is prohibited, and all intercourse between the sexes cut off, by the rules of the Institution, yet the sleeping-rooms of both the males and females are here under the same roof; and they take their meals in the same large hall. They sit, however, at separate tables, and there are two doors at the entrance of each of their apartments, one for the exclusive entry and exit of the men, and one for the women, that they may not meet and touch each other in the passage. They observe a uniformity of costume, very much like that of the Quakers in England, the plain caps of the women, and the broad-brimmed hats of the men especially; but the latter all wear loose trousers,

and large waistcoats, and go without coats, or in their shirt-sleeves. Everything about their persons, rooms, and furniture is as clean as it is possible to make it; and this cleanliness, neatness, and order of their dwellings, is in striking contrast to the dirty and disorderly log-cabins seen by the road-side, and occupied by the families of American settlers and farmers generally. Every member of the Shaker Community works; and their industry and economy has led here, as elsewhere under the same co-operative principle, to considerable accumulation of property.

Besides farming, which furnishes all that is necessary for the support of the household, and leaves an abundant surplus of grain and cattle for sale, there is a large manufactory of waggons and carts carried on by them; various household requisites are made also in wood, of the neatest and best workmanship, which are in great request. They have an extensive garden, in which they cultivate a great variety of vegetables for sale, and their productions of every kind are in higher esteem than any others brought to market. They preserve also large quantities of seeds, of fruits, vegetables, and flowers, which are dried, packed, and sent to considerable distances; the same preference being given to these over other seeds, as to all other articles preserved, prepared, or made by them; as it is known that they are always sober, honest, and industrious, and therefore whatever is done by them is *well* done, and full measure and good quality may be always relied on.

Dinner was prepared for us, and served in the

elders' apartment, the attendants being females; and though the fare was simple, everything was clean, well dressed, and good. After dinner, we sat some time with the elders, both of whom were very intelligent men, one a little below, and the other a little above 60 years of age. The latter had been originally a Presbyterian clergyman, and was well educated. He had been a member of this Community more than 30 years, was stout, healthy, and apparently very happy, and was as cheerful and communicative as could be desired. The Society had of late, it was said, declined in numbers, there being less than 100 at present. The first cause of desertion was alleged to be the bad example of a former elder, who had thought fit to adopt the advice of St. Paul to the Corinthians, "If they cannot contain, let them marry, for it is better to marry than to burn;" and having married one of the sisterhood, this had excited so strong a desire in some of the younger members to follow the same course, that they had gradually dropped off in pairs, married, and joined themselves to the world. Several who had done this, had, however, subsequently confessed that they felt less happy in their new sphere, than in that in which they were originally brought up; they had not entirely lost their reverence for Mother Ann Lee, and they had not entirely adopted other views of religion than those taught by her, so that they were in a state of hesitation and uncertainty, which made them exceedingly uncomfortable; and if they could have been received back again into the Community, several of them, it is thought, would have returned.

But this would not have been permitted on the part of the leaders.

With a view to purify the Community from the presence of insincere members, the leaders had latterly had recourse to the dreaming of dreams, and seeing of visions, at which Mother Ann Lee was represented to have appeared, and made sundry special revelations to those of whose faith she approved. As there were some, however, who did not participate in these dreams, and were not so visited, the elders took occasion to make this a test of unworthiness, and determined to remove from the Community all those who were not privileged with these supernatural interviews of the Foundress of the sect. This was another cause which had lately lessened their numbers.

As a proof of the infatuation under which the members laboured, and the delusions practised upon them by their former leader, two facts may be mentioned. One was this: a large piece of ground in front of the dwelling, but on the opposite side of the road, had been laid out as an orchard and fruit garden, and the leader forbade the labourers to dress the trees at the root, or prune either their leaves or branches, on the ground that it was an attempt to improve upon the work of the Deity, who had done all that was necessary to make the trees produce abundantly, without the aid of man. In this, he probably deluded himself as well as others; but the result of this neglect was, that some had brought forth very bad fruit, and others had ceased to bear at all, and they had accordingly been subjected to the Scriptural process advised by

the Saviour, "Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down, and cast into the fire." About half of the whole number were still standing, but they were all doomed to the same fate, and were all to be hewn down this summer.

Another instance of the power exercised over this superstitious and deluded Community, was this. During the past year, the leaders had been in the habit of summoning them forth at dusk of day, to go on a night-hunt against the Devil, who, they insisted upon it, came into the grounds by night, "going about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he might devour." They accordingly set out, after dark, in a large party, through the fields, shouting and pursuing the supposed Devil with all their strength; and after a few hours' chase, sometimes coming up with him, sometimes losing his track, and again recovering it, but without ever being able to catch the Devil himself, they would come home at midnight, so exhausted by the mental heat and bodily exercise, as to be nearly prostrated in strength, and unable to pursue their labour on the following day!

I observed to my companion, who had accompanied me from Dayton, that this would hardly be credited in Europe; at which he expressed some surprise, for familiarity with revivals and protracted religious meetings in this country had made the belief in such extravagancies easy to himself. He related to me, that in his youth, he had been present at a great Camp-Meeting in Kentucky, at which a revival had taken place; and on that occasion the women were seized with convulsions, called

at that time "jerkings," in which they would some times fling themselves on the earth, at others leap high from the ground, and at others again reel to and fro in the same manner as we had seen the females among the Shakers do at Niskyuna. The men were at the same time seized with an unaccountable propensity to barking like dogs, and gifted with a power so closely to imitate the canine yelp, that their sounds were like those of a pack of hounds in full cry; hundreds of both sexes were thus strangely affected in the open woods, where these discordant noises mingled strangely with the prayers and groans of the struggling sinners, and the triumphant shoutings, in hymns and psalms, of those who called themselves "the ransomed and redeemed."

The worship of the Shakers here at Watervleite had been suspended for some weeks, in order to get rid of the attendance of "the world's people," as they call them, who came out from Dayton in great numbers every Sunday, to see them dancing, and hear them singing; but as this was thought to lessen the gravity of their meetings, and, moreover, to have led to the introduction of those temptations to marriage, by which so many of the frailer members of their Community had already fallen—it was thought better to suspend all public worship for a time, and resume it under a more prohibitory or exclusive system, after a reasonable interval.

At Union village, the larger Settlement near Lebanon, the leader, who had been at their head for many years, had contrived to possess himself, as treasurer, of upwards of 20,000 dollars, and had

left the Community to shift for itself. They were, it is true, rich enough in stock, produce, dwellings, and materials, not to suffer the least inconvenience from this abstraction of their money; but the effect was such as to shake all confidence in those who were at their head, and to disjoin and disorganize the whole body. This and other causes had, therefore, lessened the number of members here also, so that the Shaker Community, in Ohio at least, was on the decline. The females who left the Society were the most disadvantageously situated; for their deadly paleness, which seems universal among them, whether young or old, and their peculiarities, made it difficult for them to procure husbands; but the men felt little or no inconvenience, because, being industrious and skilful, sometimes as farmers only, but oftener as farmers and mechanics combined, and being known to be always steady and sober, they readily obtained employment at good wages; and, though uninstructed in book-learning, their thrift and economy made them soon acquire the art of making and saving money, though they always remained, in dress and language, a peculiar people, and did not often marry.

In conversation with the elders, I was asked much about England, and much as to my opinions respecting America, about which they seemed to be as anxious as every other class of persons I had yet met with in this country—each seeming to dread lest something respecting themselves or their class should be published to the world, which they would desire to have suppressed. Some of the ordinary members who were at work in the garden, and

with whom we stopped also to converse, were evidently persons of very little information compared with the elders. One of these asked me if there were any Shakers in England, and being answered in the negative, he expressed his wonder, as Manchester, he knew, was the place where Mother Ann Lee first founded the Shaker sect, and there ought to be many there. But, he said, I hear you have many Mormons, and that they have of late much increased. I assured them that this was new to me, and that I did not believe it to be correct, for I was in the habit of receiving letters and papers from England by every packet, and such an event could not well have happened since I left home without my hearing of it, through one or other of these channels. But he still adhered to his belief, and added that he had heard they were either all going off to the Old Jerusalem, or going to build themselves a new one in England—he did not know which. I perceived at once that he had confounded these with the followers of Joanna Southcott, yet when I mentioned her name, with the pretended birth of a new Messiah, and the peculiar opinions and practices of such of her followers as still exist in England, they confessed they had never heard of her or her sect, and pretended to be scandalized at its indecency. Yet they were wholly blind to the equal folly of their own leader, Mother Ann Lee, pretending—not like Joanna Southcott, to be the mother of a new Messiah—but to be the Messiah himself, in the personal second coming of Christ, which the Shakers claim for Mother Ann, as the ground-work of their religion. They asked

me if I had seen their book? to which I replied that I had, having been furnished with a copy at the original Watervleite, or Niskyuna. An edition of the same work had been recently printed at Lebanon, and they had copies of it here, but its sale was very limited, and the sphere of its influence in obtaining converts still more so; so that not increasing their own numbers within the Community by marriage, and making few or no additions to their body from without, by the spread of their religious views, they can now only recruit their declining numbers by receiving the families of widows and orphans, or others in distress; and to such their Community is a valuable home, as by a moderate degree of labour, the largest families can obtain everything they need.

I returned from Dayton by the valley of the Great Miami, the tract of land over which I had journeyed out from Cincinnati, and then to Watervleite, lying between the two streams of the Little Miami and the Great Miami, the former the easternmost, and the latter the largest of the two streams. On both of these rivers, as well as between them, there are several very interesting objects of Indian antiquities, of which a short description is given in "Priest's Discoveries in the West," and Drake's Book of the Indians:—

"Six miles from Lebanon, on the Little Miami, above the mouth of Todd's Fork, are curious remains of ancient works. The form of one of the forts is trapezoidal; the walls are of earth, and generally eight or ten feet high; but in one place, where it crosses the brow of the hill where it stands, it is eighteen feet high. The Little Miami passes by on the west, on the north are deep ravines, and on the south and south-east the same ravines

continue, making it a position of great strength. The area of the whole enclosure is nearly a hundred acres; the wall has numerous angles, retreating, salient, and acute, from which are eighty outlets or gateways. From which circumstance we learn that its citizens were very great in number, or so many gateways would not have been needed. Two mounds are in its neighbourhood, from which walls run in different directions to the adjoining ravines. Round about this work are the traces of several roads, two of them are sixteen feet wide, elevated about three feet in their centre, and like our turnpikes." p. 282.

"In the vicinity of Milford, on the Little Miami, are fortifications, the largest of which are upon the top of the first hill above the confluence of the East Fork with the Miami. On the opposite side of the Miami river, above Round Bottom, are similar antiquities of considerable extent. On the East Fork, at its head waters, other remains have been discovered, of which the principal bears a striking resemblance to those above mentioned; but within, it differs from any which have yet been examined in this quarter, in having nine parallel banks, or long parapets, united at one end, exhibiting very exactly the figure of a gridiron.

"At Piqua, on the western side of the Great Miami, there is a circular wall of earth, inclosing a space of about 100 feet in diameter, with an opening on the side most remote from the river. The adjacent hill, at the distance of half a mile, and at the greater elevation of about 100 feet, is the site of a stone wall, nearly circular, and inclosing perhaps 20 acres. The valley of the river on one side, and a deep ravine on the other, render the access to three-fourths of this fortification extremely difficult. The wall was carried generally along the brow of the hill, in one place descending a short distance so as to include a spring. The silicious limestone of which it was built, must have been transported from the bed of the river, which, for two miles opposite these works, does not at present afford one of ten pounds weight. They exhibit no marks of the hammer, or any other tool. The wall was laid up without mortar, and is now in ruins.

"Lower down the same river, near the mouth of Hole's Creek, on the plain, there are remains of great extent. The principal wall or bank, which is of earth, incloses about 160 acres, and is

in some parts nearly 12 feet high. Also below Hamilton, there is a fortification upon the top of a high hill, out of view from the river, of very difficult approach. This incloses about 50 acres. Adjacent to this work is a mound, 25 feet in diameter at its base, and about 7 feet perpendicular altitude.

"On the elevated point of land above the confluence of the Great Miami and Ohio, there are extensive and complicated traces, which, in the opinion of military men, eminently qualified to judge, are the remains of very strong defensive works." p. 41.

As we journeyed along the valley of the Great Miami, from Dayton to Cincinnati, we passed several mounds not enumerated among those named above. The same attraction of great fertility, and abundant water, which drew so large an ancient population to the valley of the Scioto, did the same, no doubt, to the valley of the Miami; and they have left no other memorials than these ancient forts, and tumuli of their heroes, to tell of their former existence.

The stream of the Great Miami is neither so broad nor so deep as that of the Scioto, but its waters are much more transparent. The hills that border its beautiful valley are not so lofty or so undulating in outline, but they are quite as richly wooded; and the plains, or bottom lands, enclosed within the hills on either side the stream, are as fertile as can be conceived, and were now all in full cultivation. We passed through the towns of Alexanderville, Miamisburgh, and Middleton, all near the river; and heard of two Oxfords, two Miltons, one Venice, one Cleves, and one Coleraine, small villages near; besides others along the road called after the leading Statesmen and Generals of America, as Jackson, Monroe, Madison, &c.

About two miles before we reached Hamilton, we came to the brow of a hill, from whence the view is as beautiful as it is extensive, indeed enchanting would not be too strong a term. It was the most exquisite landscape that even the taste of a Claude could desire. We dined at Hamilton, which is a pretty and thriving town on the left bank of the Miami, and has a much finer Court-House than Dayton. It is connected by a tunnelled or hollow wooden bridge to a smaller town on the opposite bank of the river, equally pretty, and comprising a population of 4,000 persons.

Here we left the river, which flows into the Ohio farther west; but all the way from this to Cincinnati was through a rich and beautiful country. The approach to the City itself was rendered agreeable by the many handsome villas, ornamental gardens, and other signs of taste, opulence, and enjoyment, which followed in quick succession. We reached Cincinnati at five in the evening, having left Dayton at the same hour in the morning, the distance being 66 miles, and were much delighted with our journey. We remained in Cincinnati a few days after our return from Dayton; and, closing my labours here, we began to prepare for our journey farther West, intending to see the interior of Kentucky, by ascending the Ohio to Maysville, and going from thence, by Lexington and Frankfort, to Louisville, through what is deemed the most beautiful part of the State.

CHAP. XXI.

Voyage on the Ohio river to Maysville—Ambitious taste of the Americans in naming their towns—Exquisite beauty of the river scenery — Towns and villages passed on both sides in ascending — Arrival at Maysville — Description of the place — Journey from Maysville to Lexington — Beautiful views of the river—Rich and fertile country—Battle-ground of the Blue Licks—Description of the battle at the Blue Licks —Scene from the heights of the battle-ground — Deadly slaughter of the whites by the Indians—Blue Licks now a fashionable watering-place—Beauty of the country—Richness of the soil—Park-like appearance of the forests—Absence of neatness, order, and cleanliness in the houses—Contrast with Ohio—Difference between free and slave States—Town of Paris—Finest country beyond this—Excellent road—Slow travelling—Effects of monopoly—Late arrival at Lexington.

On Friday, the 22nd of May, we embarked in the Maysville packet Swiftsure, to ascend the river Ohio. The hour fixed for departure was 10 o'clock, and the assurance given by the captain was, that we should reach Maysville at 7. Instead of this, we did not leave till 12, nor arrive till nearly 10; such are the uncertainties and irregularities even of packet-boats; and for intermediate ports, all the larger ones that go long trips are of course much more varying.

The weather was bright and beautiful, and the temperature not above 80°, with a fine fresh breeze from the westward. The scenery of the river on

both sides was as sylvan and lovely as undulated land, rich woods, green fields, and a constant succession of varying objects, cuold make it; so that it was a pleasure of the highest kind merely to sit and gaze at the picture as it passed by. In the first reach of the stream above Cincinnati, we had Delhi, Palestine, Moscow, and Chili, all brought within the compass of a few miles of each other; and certainly in this art of "turning the world upside-down," the Americans excel every other people known. There is an ambition of great names even among the commonest persons of the country; for while these are the names of four small towns above Cincinnati towards Maysville—in the space from that city to Louisville, there are found the towns of Aurora, Rising Sun, Petersburgh, Warsaw, Ghent, Vevay, Hanover, New York, New London, Utica; and below Louisville, there are Rome and Troy. The ludicrous associations of such names, with the insignificance of the villages which bear them, do not strike the American people so forcibly as it is likely it should do those who have seen the great originals; or if a momentary thought of their inappropriateness occurs, it is soon swallowed up in the national vanity, which persuades each individual to believe that these places will all one day eclipse their progenitors in size and grandeur, according to the notion expressed by a gentleman in Cincinnati, that before a very short period, half a century at most, America would sway the entire destiny of the globe, and England would be so dwindled away, that she would be known only as the country that gave birth to the founders of America!

As we advanced up the Ohio, the river and its scenery became more and more beautiful, and made us rejoice that we had taken this ascending trip to reach Maysville; for in our passage down from Portsmouth to Cincinnati, we had passed all this portion of the river after dark. Now, every feature was visible, and in their loveliest aspect; such hills, such woods, such plains, and these continued in endless variety, and without break or interruption, fully justified the French in calling this "The Beautiful River." I do not know that my enjoyment was ever higher than while sitting on the topmost deck, and gazing right and left on the lovely landscapes on either side; and though the progress of our boat was slower than usual, and the stoppages at the small villages along the banks frequent, I was really sorry when our voyage was at an end, or rather when night closed in upon the scene, and wrapped the hills and plains in obscurity.

On the Ohio side we touched at the small villages of Columbia, New Richmond, Susannah, Point Pleasant, Moscow, Neville, Mechanicsburgh, Higginsport, Savanna, and Ripley; and on the Kentucky side, we touched at Belmont, Rock-spring Landing, Augusta, Dover, and Charleston, these being the only towns on that bank of the river. The number of settlements and of population is greater, therefore, on the Ohio side than on the Kentucky, as free States offer greater advantages to settlers than slave States; but still, in our progress up the river, as well as in our former passage down the stream, though I looked with the most careful examination, I confess I could not discover that difference in the

appearance and condition of the two banks, which some have thought existed, and which they have, therefore, cited as one among many other proofs of the difference between the effects of freedom and the effects of slavery. On both sides, the towns were neat and agreeably situated; on both, the hills were as well wooded, and the plains as well cultivated; and in the distance of about 60 miles that we had come from Cincinnati to Maysville, there appeared to me more of landscape beauty, than in the same distance on any river that I remember to have voyaged upon.

It was past nine o'clock when we reached Maysville, having been nine hours in performing the trip, including all the stoppages, and the fare being 2 dollars each. We found comfortable quarters at Mr. Goddard's hotel, where we remained for a few days.

Maysville is less conveniently situated than almost any of the small towns we had passed on the river, having only a breadth of less than half a mile between the water's edge and the steep hills that rise at the back of the town, so that there is not breadth enough for more than four parallel streets; and instead of the fine sloping beach for a landing-place, such as is seen at Pittsburgh, Portsmouth, and Cincinnati, it has a bluff and broken bank of soil, in front of the town, with an inconvenient and disagreeable landing, narrow, steep, ill-paved, and in every way defective. The town itself has nothing remarkable in it. The front street is open to the river, as a terrace, and here the principal stores and hotels are placed; two other streets run parallel to this, behind or within it,

towards the hills; and these are intersected by four at right angles, running from the river inland. There are about 500 houses and 4,000 inhabitants; about 1,000 of these being coloured people, as Kentucky, in which it is seated, is a slave State. There are 4 churches, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Old and New-Light Baptists; 2 newspapers, Whig and Democrat; an Athenæum, and a Lyceum.

It is chiefly as the depôt of entrance into Kentucky from the Eastern States that Maysville is known; and as the boats from Pittsburgh, and the stages from Ohio, bring goods and passengers here for Lexington, Frankfort, and the interior of the State, it has the elements of increasing size and prosperity in its position. Immediately opposite to Maysville, on the Ohio shore, is the small town of Aberdeen; and a little above, on the same side of the river, is Manchester; so thickly are English and Scotch names multiplied in this country, as well as Egyptian, Greek, and Roman.

We were detained three days at Maysville by the weather, the rains being heavy and incessant, and the thunder and lightning the loudest and most vivid we had yet seen in the States. It was like the coming in or the breaking up of the monsoon in Bengal. May appears to be generally thought the most rainy month in the year; and our experience of it at Philadelphia, New Orleans, and in Ohio, warrants this supposition; though the days of interval between these rains in May are the most delicious, from their brightness, freshness, and moderation of temperature, that can be conceived.

We attended the public service of the Methodist

church, on the Sunday that we remained at Maysville, and heard a discourse from one of the Professors of the Methodist College at Augusta, on the conversion of St. Paul. It was more distinguished for fervour than for closeness of reasoning, or order in arrangement; but it was evidently according to the taste of the congregation, who responded in audible sighs and groans to various parts of the address.

On Tuesday, the 26th of May, we left Maysville at 9 o'clock by the Lexington stage, with 9 passengers inside and 5 outside, this being the first instance in which we had seen seats arranged for outside passengers on stage-coaches, though the practice, from its convenience, will, no doubt, before long, become general. The weather, at the time of our starting, was fair, and enabled us to enjoy some splendid views of the Ohio and its banks, as we wound by a serpentine road up the steep range of hills immediately at the back of the town, which looked to much greater advantage from this point than from any spot below.

Attaining the summit of the hill, about 400 feet above the level of the river, we did not again descend on the other side, but kept on upon a gently undulated surface, like a table-land, high above the stream. The country was on all sides beautiful, and though our fine weather was soon changed to rain, which continued to fall during the whole of the day, the woods and fields looked lovely, from the fulness and richness of their foliage and crops. In the early part of our journey, we passed two inconsiderable villages, Washington and Mays Lick, and in the middle of our way, we passed through Ellisburgh and Millersburgh, both small places. But the most

interesting spot in our route was the Blue Licks, once the scene of the celebrated struggle between the whites and the Indians, and now a fashionable watering-place, from its mineral springs. As we passed by the battle-ground, the coach halted to enable us to inspect the ravines in which the Indians were concealed in ambush, and the hill between these, on which the whites were hemmed in between two fires, and cut off with such dreadful slaughter. This sanguinary conflict, at the recollection of which, the inhabitants of Kentucky at the present day thrill with horror, and congratulate themselves upon the extinction of the Indian race from their soil, may be thus briefly recorded, from the narrative of Boone.

It appears that the Indians had come down from Chillicothe in Ohio, with a large force, headed by a renegade white man, who had adopted Indian life and manners, but who was still called by his Christian name, Simon Girtz, to attack the small fort of Bryant's station, about five miles north-east of Lexington in Kentucky, and avowedly with the intention of overwhelming and extirpating the white race there at once and for ever. The Indian force consisted of upwards of 600 men, in detachments from nearly all the north-western tribes, and on the 14th of August, 1782, after a march of 160 miles, they appeared before the little fort, consisting of only 40 cabins, with a handful of men. But after three days of fierce attack by all their force, on this devoted band, they could neither enter the post, nor compel its occupants to surrender; and having suffered considerable loss from the sure aim of the white men with their rifles, and hearing moreover that the little garrison ex-

pected reinforcements every hour, the Indians thought it prudent to retire under cover of the night. In doing this, they retired so slowly, and left so many marks of their trail behind them, that it was evident they wished to be pursued, in order to give battle to the whites in some open ground, and thus they hoped to decoy them from their little fortress. Unhappily the whites yielded to this temptation, and when some of the expected reinforcements had arrived, instead of waiting for the whole, and by a competent force making victory certain, they precipitately commenced the pursuit of the Indians, with not more than a third of their numbers, while by waiting 24 hours, a force under Colonel Logan would have joined them, to have doubled their strength at least.

On the 18th of August, they first came up with the Indians, at the Blue Licks. Boone, who accompanied the party with his elder son, counselled delay, in order to wait for Colonel Logan's force to come up and join them, as he knew the Indians were very numerous and anxious for battle, and he dreaded an ambuscade; but the old man's prudent counsel was rejected; and while they were in the act of deliberating on the course best to be pursued, a Major Mc Gary, a hot and impetuous character, suddenly interrupted the consultation with a loud whoop, resembling the war-cry of the Indians, spurred his horse into the stream, waved his hat over his head, and shouted aloud—"Let all who are not cowards follow me!" The words and the action together, produced an electrical effect. The mounted men dashed tumultuously into the river, each striving to be foremost. The footmen were mingled with them in one rolling and irregular mass.

No order was given, and none observed. They struggled through a deep ford as well as they could. With the same rapidity they ascended the ridge, which, by the trampling of buffalo foragers, had been stripped bare of all vegetation, with the exception of a few dwarfish cedars, and the scene was rendered still more desolate in appearance, by the multitude of rocks, blackened by the sun, which were spread over its surface. Upon reaching the top of the ridge, they followed the buffalo track with the same precipitate ardour. No scouts were sent in advance; none explored either flank; officers and soldiers seemed alike demented by the contagious example of a single man; and all struggled forward, horse and foot, as if to outstrip each other in the advance.

Suddenly, the van halted. They had reached the spot mentioned by Boone, where the two ravines lie, on each side of the ridge. Here a body of Indians presented themselves, and attacked the van. McGary's party instantly returned the fire, but under great disadvantage. They were upon a bare and open ridge; the Indians in a bushy ravine. The centre and rear, ignorant of the ground, hurried up to the assistance of the van, but were soon stopped by a terrible fire from the ravine which flanked them. They found themselves enclosed as if in the wings of a net, destitute of proper shelter, while the enemy were in a great measure covered from their fire. Still, however, they maintained their ground. The action became warm and bloody. The parties gradually closed, the Indians emerged from the ravine, and the fire became mutually destructive. The officers suffered dreadfully. Todd and Trigg, in the rear;

Harland, McBride, and young Boone, in front—were already killed.

The Indians gradually extended their line, to turn the right of the Kentuckians, and cut off their retreat. This was quickly perceived by the weight of the fire from that quarter; when the rear instantly fell back in disorder, and attempted to rush through their only opening to the river. The motion quickly communicated itself to the van, and a hurried retreat became general. The Indians instantly sprung forward in pursuit, and falling upon them with their tomahawks, made a cruel slaughter. From the battle-ground to the river, the spectacle was terrible. The horsemen generally escaped, but the foot, particularly the van, which had advanced farthest within the wings of the net, were almost totally destroyed. Colonel Boone, after witnessing the death of his son and many of his dearest friends, found himself almost entirely surrounded at the very commencement of the retreat.

Several hundred Indians were between him and the ford, to which the great mass of the fugitives were bending their flight, and to which the attention of the savages was principally directed. Being intimately acquainted with the ground, he, together with a few friends, dashed into the ravine which the Indians had occupied, but which most of them had now left to join in the pursuit. After sustaining one or two heavy fires, and baffling one or two small parties, who pursued him for a short distance, he crossed the river below the ford, by swimming, and entering the wood at a point where there was no pursuit, returned by a circuitous route to Bryant's

station. In the mean time, the great mass of the victors and vanquished crowded the bank of the ford.

The slaughter was great in the river. The ford was crowded with horsemen, and foot, and Indians, all mingled together. Some were compelled to seek a passage above by swimming; some, who could not swim, were overtaken and killed at the edge of the water.*

At present, the whole of the battle-ground is covered with innumerable cedar bushes and shrubs, rather than trees, rising from 10 to 15 feet above the ground, wide-spreading below, with their lower branches close to the soil, and the tops terminating in spiral points. The dark green foliage of these cedar bushes was deeply tinged with blue, from the thick clusters of berries of that colour with which the branches were loaded; and the intermingling of trees of lighter hue, especially the young sycamores, gave a pleasing variety to the picture. From the most elevated points of the battle-ground, the prospect was extensive and beautiful. The river Licking, which discharges itself right opposite to Cincinnati, into the Ohio, wound gracefully through the valley below; and while its waters overflowed its banks, from the heavy rains of the last few days, there were still seen on either side of it extensive and rich pastures, wheat-fields, woods, and orchards. Just opposite the bridge, which had been washed away by the violence of the current, and obliged us to make a detour to cross in another place, was the group of cottages recently erected for the visitors who come

* Mr. Clung's Western Adventure, p. 71.

here to drink of the mineral springs, in the months of July and August.

The road, from this spot to the town of Paris, which we reached about dark, was through as fine a tract of country as it was possible to see. The surface, though sufficiently level for all the purposes of agriculture and pasture, is yet sufficiently undulated for picturesque beauty; and some of the bosom-like roundings of the sloping hills, as they are clustered on the opposite sides of intervening valleys, were among the most lovely I had ever seen. Corn had been but recently planted, and was only just piercing through the earth; flax was more advanced above the surface; wheat was from a foot to 18 inches high; and fields of rye were in the full ear, and looking beautiful. Fine orchards abounded, and the trees were already laden with young fruit; and apples and peaches promised to be abundant. The beauty of the orchards was much increased by the rich fields of wheat grown around the trees; the extent of area covered by these orchards embracing many acres, as they contain from 500 to 1,500 apple or peach trees in each. The cattle that we saw, oxen, sheep, and horses, were of the finest kind; and the woods were everywhere in full foliage; so that the whole scene was luxuriant. What added much to the beauty of the latter, was the entire absence of underwood between the trees; this is cut down, rooted up, and burnt, in order to procure fine crops of grass; and the process is uniformly successful, so that herds and flocks find rich pastures and delicious shade in browsing through these woods, and their appearance is like that of parks.

There was one material drawback, however, on all this sylvan and rural beauty, which was the general absence of neatness and cleanliness in the farm-houses, cottages, and villages, near which we passed. In this respect, Kentucky contrasts disadvantageously with Ohio. In the latter State, neatness, order, and cleanliness are remarkable in all their villages, cottages, and farms; but in this, the most improved part of Kentucky, slovenliness and dirtiness were predominant. To us, this difference was easily accounted for, when we saw, that instead of the white peasantry, met on the roads and in the fields of Ohio—here the great bulk of the labourers were negro slaves, whose air, dress, and general appearance, sufficiently manifested their indifference to everything but their own ease, and their desire to escape from labour.

As a country, Kentucky is undoubtedly more generally fertile than Ohio, and for picturesque landscape, to the full as beautiful. Nature, indeed, has dealt out her bounties to both with a lavish hand, but the palm of excellence in all that is the result of the labour of man, must be given to Ohio; and though I did not observe so strongly marked as others have done, the difference between the two States, in comparing the opposite banks of the river that divides them, yet here in the interior the difference was too great to escape the perception of the most careless observer.

The town of Paris, at which we arrived about sunset, is the largest on the road from Maysville to Lexington, having about 1,000 inhabitants. It presents a remarkably pretty appearance as you approach it; the dome of its Court House and the spires of its

churches rising from amidst the forest in which the town is embosomed, being visible at some distance. The stores and dwellings appeared to be all substantial and well supplied; but here too, as on the road, the greatest number of persons that we saw in motion were negroes.

From hence commences, it is said, the most beautiful part of Kentucky, of which Lexington is reckoned the centre, and this is just on its eastern edge, distant about 18 miles from that city. We regretted this the more, as the still heavily descending rain, and the darkness after sunset, completely shrouded it from our view. We could only ascertain that it was more uniformly level than any part we had yet passed over; more thickly studded with farm-houses, the lights of which were visible in every direction; and that fields were more abundant than forests. Our being deprived of the pleasure of seeing this tract by daylight, was entirely owing to the tardiness of our drivers, and this itself was the effect of monopoly. The road, all the way, is one of the best in the Union, quite equal to the National Road from Wheeling to Columbus, and equal, I think, to any road in England; and yet, with no more than the ordinary number of passengers, and with teams of four excellent horses, changed every ten miles, we did not travel more than 5 miles an hour, though 10 would have been perfectly practicable. A year or two since there were two opposing lines of coaches on this road; and the whole distance used then to be performed in 8 hours, the distance being 61 miles, and the fare 1 dollar each. As, however, the low price to which this opposition had reduced the fare

was attended with the loss of about 10,000 dollars on each side, and resulted in the ruin of one of the competing lines, and the consequent abandonment of the field, the victor in the race forthwith availed himself of his monopoly to raise the price to 5 dollars for each passenger instead of 1 dollar, and to ease his horses by slower travelling, by reducing their speed from 8 miles an hour to 4½, and that on one of the first roads in the country. All remonstrance or appeal to the proprietors or agents are in vain; and nothing will bring them back to their original condition but another opposing line of coaches.

It was ten o'clock before we reached Lexington, having been, therefore, 13 hours in performing the distance of 61 miles. We found, as is usual in American hotels, no preparation to receive visitors; so that when we were taken to see our bed-rooms, not one was in order; not a room was swept, nor a bed made. We found this to be almost the invariable practice; when a room is vacated by one occupant, instead of putting it immediately in order for the next comer, as would be done in England or France, the custom here is to leave it in the state in which it was vacated, till the next applicant arrives, and when he has fixed on his room, then, but not before, to put it in order for him. Arriving late at an American hotel is, therefore, a great discomfort; as most of the servants will have gone to rest, no room will be ready, and the few under-servants that remain up, (for the master and mistress are rarely visible on any such occasions,) are both incompetent and unwilling to do what is required, so that the traveller must put up with his fate, and utter no complaint,

or he will probably be told that there are other houses in town to which he may repair, if he is not satisfied with what is offered him. In truth, the greatest number of innkeepers throughout the country are above their business, and their guests and inmates humour them too much in their self-importance.

We remained at Lexington a week, during which time I had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with some of the most intelligent of its citizens, and consulting both printed and written records on the History of Kentucky, as well as enjoying the conversation of some of the earliest settlers here; and from these combined sources, the following sketch was compiled.

CHAP. XXII.

First visit of the whites to the Territory of Kentucky—Adventures of Daniel Boone and John Finlay—Subsequent settlers—First log-cabin, and first fort—General Clark's speech to the Indians on the English war—Example of voluntary sacrifice among the Indians—Romantic adventures of the early settlers—Depreciated paper currency—Imperfect communication—First Court of Justice—Log-house for court and jail—First importation of merchandise from the Atlantic cities—First printing-press established west of the mountains—Separation of Kentucky from Virginia, as an Independent State—First Constitution—Houses of Legislature and Governor—Finance and revenue—First Legislative movement for the Abolition of Slavery—Abandonment of this generous impulse from fear—Last days of Daniel Boone—Description of the State of Kentucky—Area and productions—Agriculture—Fruits—Cattle—Mineral springs—Discovery of Greek relics in South America—Government and Legislature of the State of Kentucky—Executive and Judiciary—Board of Internal Improvement—State Penitentiary—Lunatic Asylum—Public education—Funds—College—Religious bodies—Increase of population—Contrast between the progress of Free and Slave States—Salt manufactured—Remarkable iron mountains—Distillation of whisky—Speech of an Indian Chief—Mammoth cave—Singular discovery of mummies—Striking resemblance of Indian to Egyptian catacombs—Evidences of an earlier and more civilized race—Cave on the Ohio, with hieroglyphic sculptures—Remarkable discovery of Jewish phylacteries.

THE history of the State of Kentucky is as full of incident and adventure as that of any in the Union: its earliest settlers enjoy a fame within the borders of the State itself, not inferior to that of the heroes of old: and the names of Boone and Finlay, Bullitt and M'Afee, Clark and Harrod, are held in the highest veneration. The Territory now forming the

State of Kentucky was originally included within the Old Dominion of Virginia; but previous to the year 1769, it was rather roamed over, than occupied, exclusively by Indians, including the Mohawks, or Iroquois, the Shawnees, Chickasaws, Cherokees, Delawares, Twightwees, Miamis, Mingos, Wyandots, and Illinois, who all visited this region occasionally in their hunting excursions. As early, however, as 1747, Dr. Walker, of Virginia, led an exploring party through the State, and first named the Shawanee river the Cumberland, after the Duke of that name. In 1767, John Finlay, of North Carolina, and his companions, visited the Territory; but, like Walker, effected little beyond the opening some trade with the Indians. It was not until 1769, that the first white man made any settlement here, and this was effected by the celebrated Daniel Boone, who, on the 1st of May in that year, at the age of 40, left his family and his habitation, on the Yadkin river, in North Carolina, in company with John Finlay, who had been out two years before, John Stewart, and three others; and on the 7th of June, after a long and fatiguing journey through what they called "a mountainous wilderness," they say, in Boone's Narrative, "we found ourselves on the northernmost branch of the Kentucky river, where John Finlay had formerly been trading with the Indians, and from the top of an eminence,we saw with pleasure the beautiful level of Kentucky." The plains were then covered with vast herds of buffalo, and other game, and formed the principal hunting-grounds of many Indian tribes. There were neither wigwams nor encamp-

ments in all this region; but as the rival tribes meeting here on this common territory were often involved in conflicts about their respective rights to the game to be pursued, and many sanguinary battles were here fought to settle these disputes by the arm of the strongest, the tract or region was called by them Kan-tuck-kee, which signifies "the dark and bloody ground;" and this Indian name has ever since been retained, and applied to the whole of the State. They remained here till the winter of the same year, during which period Stewart was killed by the Indians, subsequently met with in their hunting parties—the first white man, it is said, that fell by their hands in this quarter, at least—and soon after, another of the party was attacked and devoured by the wolves. In the mean time, Boone's brother had come out to join him, and they ranged through much of the country alone; and after an absence of three years, Boone returned to his family—never having tasted, during all his absence, either bread or salt, nor seen the face of any white man, except that of his brother and the two friends who had fallen, the one by the hatchet of the Indians, the other by the devouring wolves. And yet, such was the charm which this roving and adventurous life in the forests exercised over Boone's mind and taste, that he sold his farm in North Carolina, and, in 1771, took leave of his friends, to set forth with his wife and children, a few milch cows, and horses laden with domestic utensils, to plant himself in these woods—most of those whom he had left behind regarding him and his family as devoted to certain destruction.

In 1773, Thomas Bullitt proceeded as far as the Falls of Ohio, pitched his tents on a small island in the river, called Corn Island, and fixed on the spot opposite to it, on the Kentucky shore, as the site of a town, to be called Louisville.

In 1774, a hunter named Hendricks was taken by the Indians, and burnt alive by them; his bones were afterwards found near the stake by his companions; and in the same year, James Harrod, who had led a party from the Monongahela, ascended the Kentucky river in canoes, and built the first *log-cabin* in Kentucky, upon the site of the town now called Harrodsburgh.

In 1775, a settlement was formed on the south side of the Kentucky river, by Boone and his companions, after whom it was called Boonesborough, and here the first *fort* of the white man was erected. In this year also, Richard Henderson, a North Carolinian, obtained by a secret and surreptitious treaty with the Cherokees, a grant of all the lands between the Kentucky and the Cumberland rivers, for the nominal sum of 6,000*l.* sterling, which was paid to the Indians, however, in ten waggon-loads of cheap goods, such as coarse blankets, trinkets, fire-arms, and rum or whisky. He gave this new country the title of "The Colony of Transylvania," invited settlers, sold lands, organized a House of Delegates, elected himself "Proprietary," met the body in a Convention, and sanctioned their proceedings with a speech. But the whole proceeding being illegal, the Virginia Legislature soon after set aside Mr. Henderson's pretensions, though they gave him a tract of 200,000 acres, or 12 miles

square, of the forest-lands, of his own choice, on the banks of the Green river, as a compensation for his loss; while North Carolina granted his associates a similar quantity of land in Powell's Valley. It was in this year, 1775, that General George Rogers Clark first visited Kentucky; and in 1776, he obtained for the Territory the privilege of its being erected into the County of Kentucky, which gave it a representation in the Legislature of Virginia, and a participation in its judicial and military protection.

The War of the Revolution now raging, as this was in the year of the Declaration of Independence, all the Western territory was subject to the ravages of the Indian tribes; and each party in the conflict being desirous of using these savages as their auxiliaries or allies, various arts were used to get them over to the side for which the respective advocates pleaded. One instance of this is recorded in the Memoirs of General Clark, which is sufficiently remarkable to be presented here. The General had sought and obtained a council of the Indian Chiefs, on the Ohio, and after a preliminary meeting, it was agreed that they should meet him in full council on the following day, on which occasion he delivered to them this address, as the Representative of "The Big Knife," the name assumed for the American nation :—

"Men and warriors: Pay attention to my words. You informed me yesterday, that the Great Spirit had brought us together, and that you hoped, that as he was good, it would be for good. I have also the same hope, and expect that each party will strictly adhere to whatever may be agreed upon, whether it shall be peace or

war; and henceforward prove ourselves worthy of the attention of the Great Spirit. I am a man and a warrior, not a counsellor; I carry war in my right hand, and in my left, peace. I am sent by the Great Council of the Big Knife, and their friends, to take possession of all the towns possessed by the English in this country, and to watch the motions of the Red people: to bloody the paths of those who attempt to stop the course of the river; but to clear the roads from us to those that desire to be in peace; that the women and children may walk in them without meeting anything to strike their feet against. I am ordered to call upon the Great Fire for warriors enough to darken the land, and that the Red people may hear no sound, but of birds who live on blood. I know there is a mist before your eyes; I will dispel the clouds, that you may clearly see the causes of the war between the Big Knife and the English; then you may judge for yourselves, which party is in the right; and if you are warriors, as you profess yourselves to be, prove it by adhering faithfully to the party which you shall believe to be entitled to your friendship, and not show yourselves to be squaws.

"The Big Knife is very much like the Red people; they don't know how to make blankets, and powder, and cloth; they buy these things from the English, from whom they are sprung. They live by making corn, hunting, and trade, as you and your neighbours, the French, do. But the Big Knife daily getting more numerous, like the trees in the woods, the land became poor, and hunting scarce; and having but little to trade with, the women began to cry at seeing their children naked, and tried to learn how to make clothes for themselves; soon made blankets for their husbands and children; and the men learned to make guns and powder. In this way we did not want to buy so much from the English; they then got mad with us, and sent strong garrisons through our country, (as you see they have done among you on the lakes, and among the French;) they would not let our women spin, nor our men make powder, nor let us trade with anybody else. The English said, we should buy everything from them, and since we had got saucy, we should give two bucks for a blanket, which we used to get for one; we should do as they pleased, and they killed some of our people, to make the rest fear

them. This is the truth, and the real cause of the war between the English and us; which did not take place for some time after this treatment. But our women became cold and hungry, and continued to cry; our young men got lost for want of counsel to put them in the right path. The whole land was dark, the old men held down their heads for shame, because they could not see the sun, and thus there was mourning for many years over the land. At last the Great Spirit took pity on us, and kindled a great council-fire, that never goes out, at a place called Philadelphia; he then stuck down a post, and put a war tomahawk by it, and went away. The sun immediately broke out, the sky was blue again, and the old men held up their heads, and assembled at the fire; they took up the hatchet, sharpened it, and put it into the hands of our young men, ordering them to strike the English as long as they could find one on this side of the great waters. The young men immediately struck the war-post, and blood was shed: in this way the war began, and the English were driven from one place to another, until they got weak, and then they hired you Red people to fight for them."

There was much more about the Great Spirit getting angry at this, and disposing the heart of the French king to take part against the English; and of the certainty that the Great Spirit would show his displeasure towards the Indians, if they did not join the Big Knife also; the result of all which was, that the Indians were thus induced to take up arms against the English, and materially assisted to promote their defeat.

An incident is mentioned in the history of this war, which displays a custom among the Indians that I do not remember seeing elsewhere. It appears that a party of Indians had agreed, for a certain reward, to kill General Clark, and for that purpose had practised a treachery, in which, however, they were detected before the fatal blow had

been struck. They were apprehended, and kept in custody, and during their confinement, some chiefs of other tribes interceded for their lives to be spared. The negotiation having failed, however, "the offending tribe appeared busy in conversation among themselves, when suddenly two of their young men advanced into the middle of the floor, sat down, and flung their blankets over their heads, to the astonishment of the whole assembly. Instantly two Chiefs arose, and with a pipe of peace, stood by these victims, and offered their lives to General Clark, as an atonement for the offence of their tribe. This sacrifice they hoped would appease the Big Knife, and they again offered the pipe." The offer was, however, rejected: the victims were subsequently released, and the offenders pardoned.

It was in 1777, that the first Municipal Court was established at Harrodsburgh, in Kentucky; and it was said to be "composed of six or eight of the most respectable men in the County, for literary information." At this period, there were only three permanent settlements yet formed in Kentucky, one at Harrodsburgh, with 65 men; one at Boonesborough, with 22 men; and one at Logan's Fort, or St. Asaph's, with only 15 men; the whole number being less than the first band of Pilgrims that landed on the Rock of Plymouth. When, therefore, in the following year, 1778, Daniel Boone and 27 men were captured by the Indians at the Blue Licks, where they had gone out to procure salt—these places being called "licks" from the practice of the wild animals resorting here, to lick the saline matter left on the soil by the evaporation of the

mineral water—the consternation and dismay of the remaining handful of men may be readily imagined. Boone was taken off a prisoner to Chillicothe, where he had an opportunity of seeing a party of 450 Indian warriors assembled, armed and painted in their usual manner, when going to war; and learnt that their intention was to make a desperate and final attack upon Boonesborough. He accordingly determined, at all hazards, to be before them in conveying this intelligence, and accordingly "stole off from them, before sunrise, in the most secret manner, on the 16th of June, and on the 20th arrived at Boonesborough, after a journey of 160 miles, during which," he says, "I had eaten but one meal!" sustaining this privation through a period of four days, walking at the rate of 40 miles a day, in the hottest month of the year! He prepared the little garrison for the attack, and before the Indians had moved from their position at Chillicothe, Boone was back among them again, at the head of a small party of only 19 men, with which he carried the war into the enemy's camp, defeated a party of 30 Indians at Paint Creek, and returned back to Boonesborough, after a march of 320 miles, on the seventh day after leaving it!

The details of these early struggles are among the most remarkable to be found in the annals of any country; one example only shall be given, from "Butler's History of Kentucky," to which it would be difficult to find a parallel in modern days. Captain Benham, one of the early heroes of the West, having descended the Mississippi, to New Orleans, was sent back from thence with despatches to go up

through the unexplored country west of that river, and joining in his route a small party under Colonel Rogers, they were both attacked by an overwhelming force of Indians. The narrative of the struggle that ensued is thus given—

"Captain Benham, shortly after breaking through the enemy's line, was dangerously wounded through the hips. Fortunately, a large tree had lately fallen near the spot where he lay, and with great pain he dragged himself into the top, and lay concealed among the branches. The Indians, eager in pursuit of the others, passed him without notice, and by midnight all was quiet. On the following day, the Indians returned to the battle-ground, in order to strip the dead and take care of the boats. Benham, although in danger of famishing, permitted them to pass without making known his condition, very correctly supposing that his crippled legs would only induce them to tomakawk him upon the spot, in order to avoid the trouble of carrying him to their town. He lay close, therefore, until the evening of the second day, when perceiving a racoon descending a tree near him, he shot it, hoping to devise some means of reaching it, when he could kindle a fire, and make a meal. Scarcely had his gun cracked, however, when he heard a human cry, apparently not more than fifty yards off. Supposing it to be an Indian, he hastily reloaded his gun, and remained silent, expecting the approach of an enemy. Presently the same voice was heard again, but much nearer. Still Benham made no reply, but cocked his gun, and sat ready to fire, as soon as an object appeared. A third halloo was quickly heard, followed by an exclamation of impatience and distress, which convinced Benham that the unknown must be a Kentuckian. As soon, therefore, as he heard the expression, "Whoever you are—for God's sake answer me!"—he replied with readiness, and the parties were soon together. Benham, as we have already observed, was shot through both legs!—the man who now appeared, had escaped from the same battle, *with both arms broken!* Thus was each enabled to supply what the other wanted. Benham having the perfect use of his arms, could load his gun and kill game with great readiness, while his friend having the use of his legs, could

kick the game to the spot where Benham sat, who was thus enabled to cook it. When no wood was near them, his companion would rake up brush with his feet, and gradually roll it within reach of Benham's hands, who constantly fed his companion, and dressed *his* wounds, as well as his own—tearing up both of their shirts for that purpose. They found some difficulty in procuring water, at first—but Benham at length took his own hat, and placing the rim between the teeth of his companion, directed him to wade into the river Licking, up to his neck, and dip the hat into the water (by sinking his own head). The man who could walk, was thus enabled to bring water, by means of his teeth, which Benham could afterwards dispose of as was necessary.

"In a few days they had killed all the squirrels and birds within reach, and the man with the broken arms was sent out to drive game within gunshot of the spot to which Benham was confined. Fortunately, wild turkeys were abundant in those woods, and his companion would walk around, and drive them towards Benham, who seldom failed to kill two or three of each flock. In this manner they supported themselves for several weeks, until their wounds had healed, so as to enable them to travel. They then shifted their quarters, and put up a small shed at the mouth of the river Licking, where they encamped until late in November, anxiously expecting the arrival of some boat, which should convey them to the Falls of Ohio.

"On the 27th of November, they observed a flat boat moving leisurely down the river. Benham instantly hoisted his hat upon a stick, and hallooed loudly for help. The crew, however, supposing them to be Indians—at least suspecting them of an intention to decoy them ashore—paid no attention to their signals of distress, but instantly put over to the opposite side of the river, and manning every oar, endeavoured to pass them as rapidly as possible. Benham beheld them pass with a sensation bordering on despair, for the place was much frequented by Indians, and the approach of winter threatened them with destruction, unless speedily relieved. At length, after the boat had passed him nearly half a mile, he saw a canoe put off from its stern, and cautiously approach the Kentucky shore, evidently reconnoitering them with great suspicion. He called loudly upon them for assistance,

mentioned his name, and made known his condition. After a long parley, and many evidences of reluctance on the part of the crew, the canoe at length touched the shore, and Benham and his friend were taken on board. Their appearance excited much suspicion. They were almost entirely naked, and their faces were garnished with six weeks' growth of beard. The one was barely able to hobble upon crutches, and the other could manage to feed himself with one of his hands. They were instantly taken to Louisville, where their clothes (which had been carried off in the boat that deserted them) were restored to them, and after a few weeks' confinement, both were perfectly restored." p. 105-107.

In 1780, Fort Jefferson was erected on the shore of Kentucky, just below the junction of the Ohio with the Mississippi; and in the same year, the population having greatly increased, the single County of Kentucky was subdivided into three parts, under the names of Jefferson, Fayette, and Lincoln. Two facts are recorded, however, which show how backward this part of the country still was in finance and communication. In 1781, the Legislature of Virginia authorized the scale of the depreciated paper-currency of the State in exchange for silver, to be as 1,000 dollars to 1 dollar, and at that rate it was received in payment of taxes! as well as for the purchase of lands belonging to the State; while the price of corn in this currency fluctuated between 50 dollars per bushel, in December, 1779, to 165 dollars per bushel, in January, 1780 —or in the space of a single month! When the definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States had been signed, in November, 1782, the intelligence of this event was not known in Kentucky till April, 1783—so slow and unfrequent was the intercourse then between the Atlantic

cities, and this, which was then denominated "The Far West."

In this year, 1783, the three counties of Jefferson, Fayette, and Lincoln, were re-united, under the name of The District of Kentucky, with a court of common law and chancery jurisdiction. The first district-court was opened at Harrodsburgh; but as there existed no house there large enough to contain the officers and attendants, they adjourned to a meeting-house near the Dutch station, six miles from that spot; and there "the attorney-general and clerk were directed to fix on some safe place, near Crown's station, close to the present town of Danville, for holding the court, where they were authorized to procure a log-house to be built, large enough to accommodate the court in one end, and two juries in the other, with a jail of hewed or sawed logs, at least nine inches thick." Such were the simple edifices erected for the administration of justice in these rude times.

The conclusion of peace between Great Britain and the United States, and the full recognition of the independence of the latter, gave a new impetus to emigration and settlement in the West. Accordingly population began to "increase, and multiply, and replenish the earth." Merchandise was brought for the first time from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, across the mountains, and thence to Louisville, by the Ohio river; and in 1784, a commercial company was established, which fixed its depôt at Lexington. In 1775, therefore, the people of Kentucky began to think of asking the Legislature of Virginia to give her separate and legal existence as an independent State.

In 1787, General Wilkinson descended the Mississippi from Louisville to New Orleans, carrying thither the first cargo of native produce, consisting chiefly of tobacco for sale to the Spaniards, to whom that city then belonged; and in the same year, the first printing-press was set up in the back-woods of America. Mr. John Bradford, an ingenious and enterprizing citizen of Lexington, who was not brought up to the business of a printer, undertook this step at a time when there was not a single press beyond the Alleghanny mountains, nor within 500 miles of where Lexington stood. Some of the types had to be cut out of dog-wood, and others out of metal; but surmounting all difficulties, the two brothers, John and Fielding Bradford, published the first paper of the West on the 18th of August, 1787, under the title of the Kentucky Gazette, which is still retained.

After no less than eight successive conventions held by the people of Kentucky to press their separation from Virginia, it was not until the year 1792, that the legislative sanction for this separation was obtained. Frankfort, a central station, was fixed upon for the legislative capital; a constitution was framed, on the basis of a republican government in two houses of representatives and senators; the members of the former elected by the free white male residents every year, and of the latter by an electoral college every four years, the members oft his college being chosen by the people, and electing the governor as well as the senators. The senate, however, had power to fill all its own vacancies between the times of election; and all elections were ordered to be by

ballot, though in Virginia, the parent state, it then was, and still is, by open voting. The following is given by Butler, as the financial condition and practice of this early period—

"The economy, or more properly the value of money in these times, is really too remakable to escape notice. The members of Assembly received 1 dollar per diem, and 12 dollars each for the whole session; 20 dollars compensated the presiding officer of each house; 50 dollars the clerk; and 12 dollars the sergeant-at-arms; these considerable sums, it has rather sarcastically been observed, were in *full of all demands.* The largest bill seems to have been that of the public printer; well illustrating the scarcity and value of mechanics, by the contrast of their compensation with that of the first statesmen of Kentucky. It was 333 dollars and a third. No revenue having yet been collected, the treasurer was directed to borrow money. In connection with this subject, the revenue system of the State and its treasury arrangement next present themselves. Every hundred acres of land and every slave not exempted by the county court for infirmity of age, was taxed one third of a dollar; every horse, &c., about 11 cents; every head of cattle, 4 cents; each wheel on every coach or chariot, 1 dollar; for every wheel of other riding carriages not used in agriculture, two-thirds of a dollar; for every billiard table, 33 dollars and a third; every ordinary license, 10 dollars; every retail store, 10 dollars. This revenue system was carried into effect by commissioners appointed by the county courts, whose business it was to take lists of the taxable property; the sheriff was to make the collection from the people, account with the auditor of public accounts for the amount, and pay the same to the treasurer once a year."—p. 213.

The subsequent history of Kentucky is not marked by any peculiarities sufficiently striking to separate it from that of the general history of the United States, except in one or two particulars, and these may be briefly detailed.

In 1797, the question of emancipating the slaves

of Kentucky was debated in the State Legislature; and Henry Clay, a Virginian by birth, but recently become a citizen of Kentucky, practising at the bar, and holding a seat in the House of Representatives, boldly advocated the gradual emancipation of the negroes then in bondage. It was decided to refer the question to a convention of the people. A law was passed for calling this convention on the 22nd of July, 1799; but it does not appear that the convention was ever held, both Virginia and Kentucky having shrunk from the further consideration of the question which they had been so ready to broach; and now attributing this weakness and inconsistency, not to their own indecision and vacillation, but to the agitation of the question by the Abolitionists. They exhibited, indeed, in their conduct on this great question, a most perfect illustration of the truth of the poet's admirable delineation of Fear—

"First Fear, his hand, its skill to try,
Amid the chords bewilder'd laid,
And back recoiled, he knew not why,
Even at the sound himself had made."

The fate of Daniel Boone will form a fit termination to this sketch of the history of Kentucky, as no one can feel an interest in his early adventure, without desiring to know something of the termination of his career. I give it, therefore, in the words of the historian of Kentucky, Mr. Butler—

"During the session of the legislature for this year, (1811) a petition was presented to them, from the old pioneer of the West, Daniel Boone. It is stated that, 'unacquainted with the niceties of law, he did not intend to locate land for others; but to take up a reasonable portion of those which were good, for the use of himself and his posterity.

"'To this end, he, with much struggling, after the country became some little settled, laid out the chief of his little property, to procure land-warrants; and having raised about 20,000 dollars, in paper money, with which he intended to purchase them, on his way from this country to Richmond, he was robbed of the whole, and left destitute of the means of procuring more. The few lands he afterwards was enabled to locate, were, through his ignorance, generally swallowed up and lost by better claims.'

Under these circumstances, about 1794, Boone migrated 'to the Spanish province of Upper Louisiana, under an assurance from the Governor, who resided at St. Louis, that ample portions of land should be given to him and his family. Ten thousand acres of choice land were marked out, and given to him for his own use, on the Missouri; though the title was not completed, because that could only be done at New Orleans, as he was Syndic, or chief of the district of St. Charles, and honoured by the kindness of his superior; his actual residence on the land given him, which was a usual condition of a Spanish grant, was dispensed with, in consequence of his public trust requiring his residence elsewhere. When your memorialist came to lay his claim before the commissioners of land-claims in that territory appointed by Congress, they were compelled, from the strict injunctions by which they were governed, to reject it, for want of cultivation and settlement. Thus your memorialist was left once more, at about the age of eighty, to be a wanderer in the world.

"'Having no spot he can call his own, whereon to lay his bones, your memorialist has laid his case before Congress.' He therefore prayed the Legislature to support his application to Congress by their aid and influence."

This memorial was committed to Messrs. Y. Ewing, Hopkins. Caldwell, Southgate, Bullock, and Walker. The report submitted to the House, and adopted by all the branches of the government of Kentucky, is too honourable to its sensibility, and too grateful to the moral feelings of every generous bosom, to be omitted. It is as follows—

"The Legislature of Kentucky, taking into view the many eminent services rendered by Colonel Daniel Boone, in exploring and settling the Western country, from which great advantages have resulted, not only to this State, but to his country in

general; and that from circumstances over which he had no control, he is now reduced to poverty, not having, so far as appears, an acre of land out of the vast territory he has been a great instrument in peopling. Believing also, that it is as unjust as it is impolitic, that useful enterprise and eminent services, should go unrewarded by a government, wherein merit confers the only distinction; and having sufficient reason to believe, that a grant of 10,000 acres of land, which he claims in Upper Louisiana, would have been confirmed to him by the Spanish government, had not the said territory passed by cession into the hands of the general government,—Therefore

"*Resolved*, By the general assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, That our senators and representatives in Congress, be requested to make use of their exertions to procure a grant of land in the said territory, to said Boone, either to the said 10,000 acres, to which he appears to have an equitable claim, from the grounds set forth to this Legislature, by way of confirmation, or to such other quantity, and in such place, as shall be deemed most advisable, by way of donation," p. 340.

In pursuance of this resolution, the Congress of the United States, by an act of February 10th, 1814, granted to Daniel Boone a tract containing 1,000 arpans of land; but Mr. Butler adds—

"It is lamentable to relate that Boone was obliged to surrender this late grant from the bounty of his country, to reimburse a Kentuckian, who had purchased land of him, but which land having been lost in the mazes of the Virginian land-law, the loss fell upon Boone, as the warranter of the title. He abandoned Kentucky in despair of ever enjoying any land there, and declared, when he had got beyond the Mississippi, that he would never recross it."

"The ruling passion, strong in death," was never more strikingly manifested than in the last days of this remarkable man, which are thus described by his biographer, Mr. John A. Mc Clung, in his in-

teresting volume entitled "Western Adventure," printed at Cincinnati—

"Boone continued a highly respectable citizen of Kentucky for several years, until the country became too thickly peopled for *his* taste. As refinement of manners advanced, and the general standard of intelligence became elevated, by the constant arrival of families of rank and influence, the rough old woodsman found himself entirely out of his element. He could neither read nor write; the all-engaging subject of politics, which soon began to agitate the country with great violence, was to him as a sealed book or an unknown language; and for several years he wandered among the living group, which thronged the court-yard or the churches, like a venerable relic of other days. He was *among* them, but not *of* them. He pined in secret for the wild and lonely forests of the West, for the immense prairies, trodden only by the buffalo or the elk; and became eager to exchange the listless languor and security of a village, for the healthful exercises of the chas, or the more thrilling excitement of savage warfare.

"Until the day of his death, (and he lived to an unusually advanced age,) he was in the habit of remaining for days at a time in the forest, at a distance from the abodes of men, armed with a rifle, hatchet, and knife, and having flints and steel to enable him to kindle a fire and broil the wild game, upon which he depended for subsistence. When too old to walk through the woods, as was his custom when young, he would ride to a 'lick,' and there lie in ambush all day, for the sake of getting a shot at the herds of deer, that were accustomed to visit the spot for the purpose of licking the salt. We have heard that he died in the woods, lying in ambush near a 'lick,' but have not at present the means of ascertaining with certainty the manner of his death," p. 79.

Boone, and the class of backwood settlers, of which he was the great original, have all departed; and their successors, who follow in their footsteps, are now leading nearly the same kind of life some hundreds of miles farther west, beyond the Missis-

sippi; while the Indian tribes, with whom they lived in perpetual conflict, are pressing close upon the Rocky Mountains, and will soon, no doubt, be driven beyond them. But from this region of Kentucky "the dark and bloody ground," they have long since entirely disappeared, as feelingly expressed in the beautiful Lines of Mrs. Sigourney—

THE ABORIGINES.

"Where are they, the forest rangers,
Children of this western land,
Who, to greet the pale-faced strangers,
Stretched the unsuspecting hand?
Where are they whom passion goaded
Madly to the unequal fight,
Tossing wild the feathery arrow
'Gainst the girded warrior's might?

"Were not these their own bright waters?
Were not these their native skies?
Reared they not their red-brow'd daughters
Where our princely mansions rise?
From the vale their roofs have vanished,
From the streams their slight canoe;
Chieftains and their tribes have perished,
Like the thickets where they grew.

"Though their blood no longer gushing,
Wakens War's discordant cry,
Stains it not the maple's flushing,
When sad autumn's step is nigh?
None are living to deplore them,
None survive their names to tell;
Only Nature, sighing o'er them,
Seems to say—Farewell! Farewell!"

The State of Kentucky, as at present existing, is bounded on the north by the Ohio river, which separates it from the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois; and this river flows for 637 miles, including its windings, along the Kentucky shore alone. On the south it is bounded by the State of Tennessee; on the east by the State of Virginia; and on the west by the Mississippi river, which separates it from the State of Missouri. Its greatest length is about 400 miles, its greatest breadth 170; and its whole area is computed to be 40,500 square miles, or 25,920,000 acres; so that if the united population of England, Scotland, and Ireland, were transported to Kentucky, there would be an acre of land for each individual, man, woman, and child, in the 25,000,000; and more than an acre each still left for every native inhabitant of the State at present residing here, in the odd 920,000; as the whole population in 1830 was only 688,844, and is now perhaps about 900,000 persons; such is the vast extent of territory compared to occupants in these Western States.

The surface of the country is varied, but is almost everywhere fertile and beautiful. Along the banks of the Ohio are ranges of hills, varying from 200 to 300 feet in height, well wooded. This belt extends from 5 to 20 miles in breadth inward from the river, the ranges being more or less numerous, with fertile vales between them. Between this belt of hills, and the Green river, is a broad valley, with plains, varying from 50 to 100 miles in width, and about 150 miles in length; this is deemed the most fertile part of the State, and is called the Garden of Kentucky. In the south-western part of the State, there is a

tract of about 100 miles in length, called The Barrens, watered by the Green river and the Barren river, which was formerly a prairie of grass, without the least wood on it; but of late years it has become covered with a young growth of various kinds of trees. It has a fine dry soil, formed of loam, clay, and sand, and is on this account very healthy; and through it runs a chain of conical hills, called Knobs, presenting a singular appearance.

The substratum of the State is a vast bed of limestone, which is usually found at a distance of about 8 feet below the surface. The soil is in general rich, and the productions numerous. Among the trees are several varieties of the oak, the black walnut, the buckeye, the black cherry, the cotton wood, the honey locust, the elm, the ash, the white thorn, the mulberry, the pawpaw, and the sugar maple. The agricultural productions are chiefly maize or Indian corn, wheat, hemp, and tobacco; rye, oats, barley, buckwheat, flax, and potatoes are also grown; cotton is produced, but not in large quantities; and among the fruits, apples, pears, peaches, cherries, plums, and strawberries, are the most abundant; while the prairie lands of The Barrens, as they are called, have, among their rich grasses, a profusion of wild flowers, which make the whole tract, in spring and summer, like an extensive garden.

The cattle of Kentucky are in high estimation everywhere in the United States; and the breeding of horses, mules, and oxen, is here a principal pursuit of the landed proprietor. The horses are certainly among the finest in the country; and the

Kentuckians delight more than the people of any other State, in the use and display of fine horses for the saddle, the turf, and the chase. Large numbers of their horses and mules are exported every year, the former to the Atlantic cities, and the latter to Mexico and the West Indies. Oxen and hogs are fed from their surplus produce of corn and other grain; and these, too, in the shape of beef, pork, bacon, and lard, enter into their exports to neighbouring States.

Mineral springs abound in various parts of the State. At one place in the mountains, which is dignified with the name of Mount Olympus, are collected, in the smallest space, the greatest variety of mineral waters known in any single spot; including three or four different descriptions of sulphur, chalybeates, vitriolic, and copperas waters, as they are called; and all capable of being brought into the fountains of a single saloon. They are already much resorted to by invalids, and will, no doubt, increase in attractiveness as population grows denser. Salt springs also abound; and in many places, the waters filling little ponds or lakes, when these are evaporated, leave an incrustation of salt on the surface. These spots are frequented by the deer and other wild animals, as well indeed as by domesticated ones, for the purpose of licking the salt, which is agreeable to their taste, and found to be not incompatible with their health; hence such places are denominated "Licks," in the language of the old hunters. Of these there are a great number in this State, as Boone's Lick, May's Lick, The Blue Licks, a celebrated watering-place, and The Big-

bone Lick. This last was so called from the fact, that one of the early surveyors of the State, James Douglass, found here a large collection of mammoth bones. His stay here, and the nature of the place, is thus described in Butler's History of Kentucky—

"Here Douglass remained, forming his tent-poles of the ribs of some of the enormous animals, which formerly frequented this remarkable spot, and on these ribs, blankets were stretched for a shelter from the sun and the rain. Many teeth were from 8 to 9, and some 10 feet in length; one in particular was fastened in a perpendicular direction in the clay and mud, with the end 6 feet above the surface of the ground; an effort was made, by 6 men in vain, to extract it from its mortise. The lick extended to about 10 acres of land, bare of timber, and of grass or herbage, much trodden, eaten, and depressed below the original surface, with here and there a knob remaining, to show its former elevation; thereby indefinitely indicating a time when this resort of numerous animals had not taken place. Through the midst of this lick ran the creek, and on each side of it, a never-failing stream of salt water, whose fountains were in the open field. To this lick, from all parts of the neighbouring country, were converging roads, made by the wild animals that resorted to the place for the salt, which both the earth and the water contained," p. 21.

Salt is manufactured in great quantities in this State, and the most extensive works of this kind, west of the Alleghanny mountains, are on the waters of Kentucky. The neighbouring States of Ohio and Tennessee, consume large quantities of this salt for curing their provisions, and much is also exported beyond these limits.

A valuable mineral discovery has recently been made, which will give to the State great wealth; and in addition to the coal, which abounds in the same region, will soon develope immense manufacturing

resources. Near Greenville, in Kentucky, about 13 miles from Green river, there is said to be a hill, the surface of which includes about 5,000 acres, almost entirely composed of iron ore. A letter to the editors of the Louisville Journal gives some account of this great mineral formation, the property of Messrs. Backner and Churchill, who have commenced mining operations, and erected a furnace on the spot. The writer says—

"At the point where the enterprising owners have commenced mining, the stratum was at first about 8 feet thick. It has rapidly increased to upwards of 18 feet. The lower surface dips, and the upper rises, the first about 3 inches, and the other over 1 inch to the horizontal foot. Hence, after penetrating the hill 60 feet farther, the stratum of ore will be more than 40 feet in thickness; and near the summit of the hill will exceed several hundred feet. From the uniform dip of the lower, and rise of the upper surface, there is every reason to believe that it increases to a vast thickness. That the top of the stratum preserves an angle of elevation equal to that of the hill, is, for a considerable distance, very obvious. The entire mass, after removing a slight covering, not over 2 feet in depth, is good and pure ore, the whole of which, without rejecting any part, is fit for the furnace, without washing, cleansing, or separation; and every 100 lbs. of it, by actual test, yields from 40 to 45 lbs. of beautiful metal."

While Nature thus furnishes with a lavish hand, all that is necessary for the useful arts, man here, as elsewhere, perverts many of her choicest blessings into curses. A large portion of this iron will no doubt be converted into cannon, muskets, swords, bayonets, and bowie knives, for the so-called "lawful and honourable" slaughter of public war, and the unlawful and dishonourable slaughter of private assassination; just as the golden harvests of whole-

some and nutritious grain are converted by the distilleries here, into maddening and destroying poison. Whisky is among the principal products and principal exports of Kentucky, all distilled from grain; and though the experience of so many years has shown how destructive an enemy this is to the human race, the love of gain still overcomes all scruples, and still produces both manufacturers and venders of it. In connection with this subject, it may be mentioned that the celebrated Indian Chief of the Miamies, called Little Turtle, made an application to the Legislature of Kentucky, about 1803 or 1804, for the passage of a law concurrent with other States bordering on the Indian Territory, to prohibit their citizens from selling spirituous and intoxicating liquors to the Indians.

The arguments of this singular orator of nature were powerful. He appeared before a committee of the board, and ably discussed the subject of intemperance; his arguments had the desired effect. An act passed on the subject to go into operation providing the legislature of Ohio, (then a new State) would pass a similar law restraining her citizens from similar acts. The legislative body whose duty it was to act in Ohio, omitted it. The law of Kentucky fell of course. The unwearied Indian chief was not easily discouraged. Though baffled in the outset, he persevered; nor did he, as many a white man would have done, give it over as a "vain attempt." But in the year 1805 and 1806, Little Turtle betook himself to various methods to accomplish this truly desirable object. By every argument in his power, he laboured to gain over to his cause

influential and religious characters, and urged on them to recommend the measure to the President of the United States, which, by the Legislature of Ohio, at its session of 1804, had been neglected. For this purpose, Little Turtle travelled through various parts of the United States; and among the rest betook himself to the Quakers. Being permitted to deliver his sentiments publicly, at a yearly meeting of the Friends' Society, he expressed himself nearly as follows—

"My White Brothers,—Many of your red brothers in the West, have long since discovered and now deeply lament the great evil of drunkenness. It has been many years since it was first introduced amongst us by our white brothers; Indians do not know how to make strong drink. If it be not shortly stopped among our people, it will be our ruin. We are now in consequence of it a miserable people. We are poor and naked. We have made repeated attempts to suppress this evil, and have failed; we want our white brothers to help us, and we will try again.

"Brothers,—We want you to send to our great father, the President of the United States, and let him know our deplorable situation, that the bad use among our white brothers may be stopped from selling whisky to the Indians. Could you, my brothers, see the evil of this barbarous practice, you would pity the poor Indians!

"Brothers,—When a white man trading in our country meets an Indian, he asks him the first time, 'take a drink;' he says 'no.' He asks the second time, 'take a drink, good whisky;' he says 'no.' He asks the third time, 'take a drink, no hurt you; he takes a *little;* then he wants more, and then more. Then the trader tells him he must buy. He then offers his gun. The white man takes it. Next his skins; white man takes them. He at last offers his shirt; white man takes it.

"When he gets sober, he begins to inquire—'Where is my gun?' He is told, 'you sold it for whisky.' 'Where are my

skins?' 'You sold them for whisky.' 'Where is my shirt?' You sold it for whisky!' Now, my white brothers, imagine to yourselves the deplorable situation of that man, who has a wife and children at home dependent on him, and in a starving condition, when he himself is without a 'shirt!'"*

Among the rivers of the State, the Cumberland, the Kentucky, and the Green rivers, are the largest and most beautiful, and the perpendicular cliffs on the second of these, rise 300 feet above the level of the stream, and are surmounted by hills of 1,000 feet, rising above the upper edge of these cliffs, in steep and difficult access.

There are many remarkable caves in the limestone hills of Kentucky, but none more so than what is called The Mammoth Cave, near Glasgow, on the road from Louisville to Nashville, and about midway between each. This is said to extend in, for 12 or 14 miles, with ramifications on each side, for considerable distances, and to have several streams of water passing through different parts of it. In almost all these caves nitre is found largely mingled with the earth, to the extent of 50 per cent. of the soil; and there are several manufactories in which nitre is made in large quantities.

Throughout Kentucky, there are remains of ancient forts and tumuli, of races of Indians long since extinct, as in Ohio; and at Lexington particularly, which is thought to be built on the site of an ancient town, from the number of mounds and elevated works of circumvallation which were found there; though these, like every other trace of antiquity in this country, are fast disappearing. One

* Journal of the Temperance Union.

of the most remarkable objects of interest in this class, was the Cave of Mummies, discovered by the early settlers here, and the account of which is thus given in the volume of Priest's American Antiquities—

"There is connected with the antiquities of this place, a catacomb formed in the bowels of the limestone rock, about 15 feet below the surface of the earth, not far from the town of Lexington. This grand object, so novel and extraordinary in this country, was discovered in 1775, by some of the first settlers, whose curiosity was excited by something remarkable in the character of the stones which covered the entrance to the cavern within. They removed these stones, and came to others of singular appearance for stones in a natural state; the removal of which laid open the mouth of a cave, deep, gloomy, and terrific, as they supposed.

"With augmented numbers, and provided with light, they descended and entered, without obstruction, a spacious apartment; the sides and extreme ends were formed into niches and compartments, and occupied by figures representing men. When alarm subsided, and the sentiment of dismay and surprise permitted further research and inquiry, the figures were found to be *mummies*, preserved by the art of embalming, to as great a state of perfection as was known among the ancient Egyptians, 1800 years before the Christian era; which was about the time that the Israelites were in bondage in Egypt, when this art was in its highest state of perfection.

"Unfortunately for antiquity, science, and every thing else held sacred by the illumined and learned, this inestimable discovery was made at a period when a bloody and inveterate war was carried on between the Indians and the whites; and the power of the natives was displayed in so savage a manner, that the whites were filled with revenge. Animated by this vindictive spirit, the discoverers of the catacomb delighted to wreak their vengeance even on the mummies, supposing them to be of the same Indian race with whom they were at war.

"They dragged them out to the open air, tore the bandages open, kicked the bodies into dust, and made a general bonfire of

the most ancient remains antiquity could boast. The *descent* to this cavern is gradual, the width 4 feet, the height 7, and the whole length of the catacomb was found to be 18 rods and a half by 6 and a half, or about 300 feet by 100; and calculating from the niches and shelvings on the sides, it was sufficiently capacious to have contained at least 2,000 subjects.

"I could never, says Mr. Ash, from whose travels we have taken this account, learn the exact quantity it contained; the answers to the inquiries which he made respecting it were, 'Oh, they burnt up and destroyed hundreds!' Nor could he arrive at any knowledge of the fashion, manner, and apparel of the mummies, or receive any other information than that they '*were well lapped up*,' appeared sound, and consumed in the fire with a rapid flame. But not being contented with the uncertain information of persons, who, it seems, had no adequate knowledge of the value of this discovery, he caused the cavern to be gleaned for such fragments as yet remained in the niches, on its shelving sides, and from the floor. The quantity of remains thus gathered up, amounted to 40 or 50 baskets, the dust of which was so light and pungent, as to affect the eyes even to tears, and the nose to sneezing, to a troublesome degree.

"He then proceeded in a minute investigation, and separated from the general mass several pieces of human limbs, fragments of bodies, solid, sound, and apparently capable of eternal duration. In a cold state, they had no smell whatever; but when submitted to the action of fire, had an agreeable effluvia, but was like nothing in its fragrance to which he could compare it.

"The Kentuckians asserted that the features of the face, and the form of the whole body, were so well preserved, that they must have been the exact representations of the once living subjects."—p. 110, 111.

I remember seeing some of these embalmed bodies, with the cloths in which they were wrapped up, in the Museum, at Philadelphia, and was even then struck with their resemblance to the mummies of Egypt; such as they are found in those extensive catacombs, where the multitude were buried

en masse, and without sarcophagi, which were used for individual interments among the rich. But this description of the *place* of interment for these mummies, makes the resemblance to Egyptian manners still more striking. Many of the catacombs, and some of the royal tombs at Thebes, bear a striking resemblance to the description here given of the descent being gradual, the width 4 feet, the height 7, and the whole length about 300. So also is the inflammability of the bodies when submitted to the action of fire, as bitumen, resin, gum, and other substances of quick combustibility, entered into the composition of Egyptian embalmment; and equally so is the fact of the absence of all smell from the bodies when cold, and then giving out an agreeable effluvia when burnt, as these are properties which I have myself remarked in the mummies taken from the catacombs of Egypt; the cause of this agreeable odour being no doubt the various aromatic drugs and spices known to have been used for their antiseptic properties in the process of embalming.

Still the question presses itself on the inquisitive mind, Did the ancient races of Indians who inhabited this country originate this practice of embalming their dead, independently of any other race? did they bring it from some earlier and distant country, from whence they migrated, and was that country Egypt? The subject seems shrouded in impenetrable obscurity, and there are not even the lights of tradition to illumine it; except, indeed, this general tradition preserved only among some of the present tribes of Indians, that the Southern States, and particularly that of Kentucky, had once been inhabited

by white people, but that they had been exterminated by war. In a work entitled M'Culloch's Researches in America, p. 210 to 213, as cited by Priest in his Volume of Discoveries in the West, it is said, that in 1800, some Indians of the Sacs tribe were at St. Louis, who on hearing it said that Kentucky was inhabited by white people, expressed much astonishment that any person should live in Kentucky, as it had been a place where much blood was shed, and that it was filled with the *manes* or souls of the butchered white inhabitants, a people who had arts among them unknown to the Indians. It is possible that the original name, Kan-tuck-kee, or "the dark and bloody ground," may apply to this early extermination of the white race here alluded to, whose embalmed bodies were thus found in such numbers in the cave, as well as to the contests between more modern races of Indians for the hunting-grounds upon the plains.

As intimately connected with this subject, I may be forgiven for mentioning the existence of a most remarkable cave on the opposite side of the river, abreast of the northern frontier of Kentucky, which is thus described in the Discoveries in the West—

"On the Ohio, twenty miles below the mouth of the Wabash, is a cavern, in which are found many hieroglyphics, and representations of such delineations as would induce the belief that their authors were, indeed, comparatively refined and civilized. It is a cave in a rock, or ledge of the mountain, which presents itself to view, a little above the water of the river, when in flood, and is situated close to the bank. In the early settlement of Ohio, this cave became possessed by a party of Kentuckians, called 'Wilson's Gang.' Wilson, in the first place, brought his family to this cave, and fitted it up as a spacious dwelling, erected a

sign-post, on the water-side, on which were these words, 'Wilson's Liquor Vault and House of Entertainment.' The novelty of such a tavern induced almost all the boats descending the river to call for refreshments and amusement. Attracted by these circumstances, several idle characters took up their abode at the cave, after which it continually resounded with the shouts of the licentious, the clamour of the riotous, and the blasphemy of gamblers. Out of such customers, Wilson found no difficulty in forming a band of robbers, with whom he formed a plan of murdering the crews of every boat that stopped at his tavern, and of sending the boats, manned by some of his party, to New Orleans, and there sell their loading for cash, which was to be conveyed to the cave by land, through the States of Tennessee and Kentucky; the party returning with it being instructed to murder and rob, on all good occasions, on the road.

"After a lapse of time, the merchants of the upper country began to be alarmed on finding their property make no returns, and their people never coming back. Several families and respectable men, who had gone down the river, were never heard of, and the losses became so frequent, that it raised at length a cry of individual distress and general dismay. This naturally led to inquiry, and large rewards were offered for the discovery of the perpetrators of such unparalleled crimes. It soon came out that Wilson, with an organized party of forty-five men, was the cause of such waste of blood and treasure; that he had a station at Hurricane Island, to arrest every boat that passed the mouth of the cavern; and that he had agents at Natchez and New Orleans, of presumed respectability, who converted his assignments into cash, though they knew the goods to be stolen, or obtained by the commission of murder.

"The publicity of Wilson's transactions soon broke up his party; some dispersed, others were taken prisoners, and he himself was killed by one of his associates, who was tempted by the reward for the head of the captain of the gang.

"This cavern measures about twelve rods in length, and five in width, its entrance presents a width of eighty feet at its base, and twenty-five feet high. The interior walls are smooth rock. The floor is very remarkable, being level through the whole length

of its centre, the sides rising in stony grades, in the manner of seats in the pit of a theatre. On a diligent scrutiny of the walls, it is plainly discerned that the ancient inhabitants at a very remote period, had made use of the cave as a house of deliberation and council. The walls bear many hieroglyphics, well executed, and some of them represent animals which have no resemblance to any now known to natural history.

"This cavern is a great natural curiosity, as it is connected with another, still more gloomy, which is situated exactly above, united by an aperture of about fourteen feet, which, to ascend, is like passing up a chimney, while the mountain is yet far above. Not long after the dispersion and arrest of the robbers who had infested it, in the upper vault were found the skeletons of about sixty persons, who had been murdered by the gang of Wilson, as was supposed.

"But the tokens of antiquity are still more curious and important than a description of the mere cave, which are found engraved on the sides within, an account of which we proceed to give.

"The sun, in different stages of rise and declension; the moon, under various phases; a snake biting its tail, and representing an orb or circle; a viper; a vulture; buzzards tearing out the heart of a prostrate man; a panther held by the ears by a child; a crocodile; several trees and shrubs; a fox; a curious kind of hydra serpent; two doves; several bears; two scorpions; an eagle; an owl; some quails; eight representations of animals which are now unknown. Three out of the eight are like the elephant in all respects, except the tusk and tail. Two more resemble the tiger; one a wild boar; another a sloth; and the last appears a creature of fancy, being a quadrumane, instead of a quadruped, the claws being alike before and behind, and in the act of conveying something to the mouth, which lay in the centre of the monster. Besides these were several fine representations of men and women, not naked, but clothed; not as the Indians, but much in the costume of Greece and Rome.

"The snake, in the form of an orb, or circle, biting its tail, pointed out the continual mutation of creatures, and the change of matter, or the perpetual motion of the world itself. If so, this

construction of that hieroglyphic, the snake, agrees with the Greek figure, of the same kind; which implies that the world feeds upon itself, and receives from itself in return, a continual supply for renovation and nourishment; the same symbol designated the year which revolves round, and ends where it first began, like the serpent with its tail in its mouth; it is believed the ancient Greeks gave it this meaning.

"The human figures are more definite, and afford inferences more certain, on account of the dress they are represented in, which, in the males, resembles the Roman. The dress of the females has a Grecian cast, the hair encircled by the crown, and was confined by a bodkin; the remaining part of this costume was Roman. The garments called stolla, or perhaps the toga pura, flounced from the shoulders to the ground; an indusium appeared underneath; the indusium was confined under the breast, by a zone or cestus; and sandals, in the manner of those of the men.

"Could all this have have been produced by the mere caprice of aboriginal artisans? We think not. They have, in this instance, either recorded their own manners in the one particular of costume, or they have represented that of others, who had come among them as strangers, and wonderfully induces the belief, that such were Greeks, Romans, or some other nation of the earth whose mode of dress was similar. Viewed in the most critical manner, this instance of American antiquity cannot fail to excite in the mind surprise, when we contrast this with the commonly received opinion, that Columbus was the first discoverer of this country.

"The hieroglyphic carved in this cave, which represents a child holding or leading a panther, brings forcibly to the mind a similar idea in the Hebrew scriptures, in the book of Isaiah, chapter 14, 6th verse, where it is said, 'the wolf, the leopard, and the young lion, shall be led by a child,' and relates to the period when both natural and moral evil shall have no existence in the earth, as is believed by some.

"In this cave, it appears, there are sketched on the rock the figures of several animals now extinct; among which are three much resembling the elephant, the tail and tusks excepted. It

would be passing the bounds of credulity to suppose the artists who delineated those figures, would represent no less than eight animals, differing in their configuration one from the other, which had in reality no being, and such as had never been seen.

"We suppose the animals resembling the elephant, to have been the mammoth, and that those ancients were well acquainted with the creature, or they could never have engraved it on the rock. Job, of the scriptures, who was a native of the land of Uz, in Idumea, which is situated south-west of the Lake Asphaltites, or Sea of Sodom, was also well acquainted with this animal. 'Behold now behemoth, which I made with thee; he eateth grass as an ox. Lo, now his strength is in his loins; and his force in the navel of his belly. He moveth his *tail* like a *cedar;* the sinews of his loins are wrapped together. His bones are as strong pieces of brass; his bones are like bars of iron. He is the chief of the ways of God," chapter 40.*

Such an animal as this, no doubt, once inhabited this continent, as the tooth of a huge creature, recently found near Cincinnati, and weighing 25 lbs., has given rise to the comparison of the size of the beast to which it once belonged, as compared with the corresponding teeth of the mammoth, whose skeleton is now in the Museum at Philadelphia. These last weigh about 4 lbs. 10 ozs., and belong to a skeleton weighing about 1,000 lbs. and 15 feet in height; while the former, which weighs 25 lbs., has been calculated to be the tooth of a creature, whose skeleton would weigh 5,000 lbs., and whose size could not be less than 40 feet in height, and 100 in length, who might well be imagined as "waving his tail like a cedar," and having "bones like bars of iron and brass."

* Discoveries in the West, p. 135.

Mr. Priest accounts for the introduction of the Egyptian art of embalming, as well as of the hieroglyphics in the cave above described, by supposing that some vessel of the fleet of the Egyptians under Pharaoh-Necho, which sailed from the head of the Red Sea, round the Cape of Good Hope, circumnavigating Africa from the east, many centuries before the days of Vasco de Gama and Columbus, was blown by adverse winds across the Atlantic to the coast of Brazil, or the West India Islands, and thus settled on the continent, and spread themselves north and south over all its parts. He supposes also that there were communications with this continent by the Jews, and subsequently by the Greeks and Romans, none of whom, however, may have returned to the Old World, to make known its existence to those who might suppose them to have perished; and he supports this view by the evidence of some remarkable facts, which are too curious and interesting to be omitted. The following, respecting the relics of the Jews, is given on the testimony of the Rev. Ethan Smith, of Pulteney, Vermont, who says—

"Joseph Merrick, Esq., a highly respectable character in the church at Pittsfield, gave the following account: That in 1815, he was levelling some ground under and near an old wood-shed, standing on a place of his, situated on *Indian Hill*. He ploughed, and conveyed away old chips and earth to some depth. After the work was done, walking over the place, he discovered, near where the earth had been dug the deepest, a black strap, as it appeared, about six inches in length, and one and a half in breadth, and about the thickness of a leather trace to a harness. He perceived it had at each end a loop of some hard substance, probably for the purpose of carrying it. He conveyed it to his house, and

threw it into an old tool-box. He afterwards found it thrown out at the door, and again conveyed it to the box.'

"After some time, he thought he would examine it; but in attempting to cut it, found it as hard as bone; he succeeded, however, in getting it open, and found it was formed of two pieces of thick raw-hide, sewed and made water-tight with the sinews of some animal, and gummed over; and in the fold was contained *four* folded pieces of parchment. They were of a dark yellow hue, and contained some kind of writing. The neighbours coming in to see the strange discovery, tore one of the pieces to atoms, in the true Hun-and-Vandal style. The other three pieces Mr. Merrick saved, and sent them to Cambridge, where they were examined, and discovered to have been written with a pen in *Hebrew*, plain and legible. The writing on the three remaining pieces of parchment, was quotations from the Old Testament. See Deut. chap. vi. from 4th to 9th verse, inclusive; also chap. xi. verse 13 to 21, inclusive; and Exodus, chap. xiii. 11 to 16, inclusive, to which the reader can refer, if he has the curiosity to read this most interesting discovery.

"These passages, as quoted above, were found in the strap of raw-hide, which unquestionably had been written on the very pieces of parchment, now in the possession of the Antiquarian Society, before Israel left the land of Syria, more than than 2,500 years ago; but it is not likely the raw-hide strap in which they were found enclosed, had been made a very great length of time. This would be unnatural, as a desire to look at the sacred characters would be very great, although they could not read them. This, however, was done at last, as it appears, and buried with some chief, on the place where it was found, called *Indian Hill.*

"Dr. West, of Stockbridge, relates, that an old Indian informed him, that his fathers in this country had, not long since, been in the possession of a book, which they had, for a long time, carried with them; but having lost the knowledge of reading it, they buried it with an Indian chief.

"It had been handed down, from family to family, or from chief to chief, as a most precious relic, if not as an amulet, charm, or talisman; for it is not to be supposed, that a distinct knowledge of what was contained in the strap, could have long continued

among them, in their wandering condition, amid woods and forests.

"It is said by Calmet, that the above texts are the very passages of Scripture which the Jews used to write on the leaves of their phylacteries. These phylacteries were little rolls of parchment, whereon were written certain words of the law. These they wore upon their forehead, and upon the wrist of the left arm."*

The fact mentioned respecting the former intercourse of Greeks at least, is quite as remarkable as any other, and is thus stated by Mr. Priest, in his American Antiquities, p. 45—

"In the month of December, 1827, a planter discovered in a field, a short distance from Mont-Video, a sort of tomb-stone, upon which strange, and to him unknown, signs or characters were engraved. He caused this stone, which covered a small excavation formed with masonry, to be raised, when he found two exceedingly ancient *swords*, a *helmet*, and *shield*, which had suffered much from rust; also an *earthen* vessel of large capacity.

"The planter caused the swords, the helmet, and earthen *amphora*, together with the stone slab, which covered the whole, to be removed to Mont-Video, where, in spite of the effect of time, *Greek* words were easily made out, which, when translated, read as follows: "During the dominion of *Alexander*, the son of *Philip*, king of Macedon, in the sixty-third Olympiad, Ptolemaios" —it was impossible to decipher the rest, on account of the ravages of time on the engraving of the stone.

"On the handle of one of the swords was the portrait of a man, supposed to be Alexander the Great. On the helmet there is sculptured work, that must have been executed by the most exquisite skill, representing *Achilles* dragging the corpse of *Hector* round the walls of Troy; an account of which is familiar to every classic scholar.

"This discovery was similar to the Fabula Hieca, the bas-relief

* Smith's View of the Hebrews, p. 220—223.

stucco, found in the ruins of the Via Appia, at Fratachio, in Spain, belonging to the princess of Colona, which represented all the principal scenes in the Iliad and Odyssey.

"From this it is quite clear, says the editor of the Cabinet of Instruction and Literature, from which we have extracted this account, vol. 3, p. 99, that the discovery of this monumental altar is proof that a contemporary of Aristotle, one of the Greek philosophers, has dug up the soil of Brazil and La Plata in South America.

"It is conjectured that this Ptolemaios, mentioned on the stone, was the commander of Alexander's fleet, which is supposed to have been overtaken by a storm at sea, in the great ocean, (the Atlantic) as the ancients called it, and were driven on to the coast of Brazil, or the South American coast, where they doubtless erected the above-mentioned monument, to preserve the memory of the voyage to so distant a country; and that it might not be lost to the world, if any in after ages might chance to find it, as at last it was permitted to be in the progress of events."

Now, combining all these facts with the Cave of Hieroglyphics on the Ohio, the Cave of Mummies in Kentucky, and the striking resemblances between the great Teocallis of the Mexicans and the Pyramids of Egypt, the worship of the sun, and human sacrifices to appease the gods, with a hundred other minor coincidences, it is impossible to resist the conviction, that races much more civilized and advanced than those of the Choctaws and Cherokees, the Delawares and Shamanese, with whom the first hunters of Kentucky came into conflict, must have occupied this continent for many ages, leaving these as the only traces of their existence behind them.

Since this was written, the following statement has been published in the Tennessee Observer, of a curious discovery recently made in that State:—

"CURIOUS DISCOVERY.—It is well known among our readers, that among the natural curiosities found in the extensive caves and grottoes, in the vicinity of the Great Laurel Ridge (Cumberland Mountains), many human skeletons and bones of animals have been discovered, some of them in a petrified state. These caves abound in prodigious vaulted apartments and chambers, which, when viewed by torch-light, exhibit scenes of gloomy grandeur, that astonish the beholder. Several petrified trees have also been discovered on the banks of the river, near this ridge, as also bones of mammoths and other animals, whose races are now extinct.

"But the most remarkable discovery that has ever been made in this part of the country, if not the greatest natural curiosity in the world, was brought to light on Sunday, 24th of January, by two scientific gentlemen with whom we are acquainted, and who are in town. They have been several weeks exploring the caves above alluded to, and gathering such curiosities as they wish to carry away with them.

"They are provided for this purpose with a boat of gum elastic, and capable of buoying two persons. With this boat, and other conveniences produced for the purpose, they will, undoubtedly, before they leave their task, penetrate every accessible hole in the West Cumberland mountains, for they are determined to spend the whole season among them.

"The wonderful discovery which will now shortly be presented to the public, is three petrified bodies entire, one of a dog, and two human bodies, one of them holding a spear. It is believed by these gentlemen that all three of these bodies may be removed from their position in a perfect state—though the dog, being in a lying posture on a flat rock, it will undoubtedly be a difficult task to remove it uninjured. The human bodies appear to be those of men—probably hunters. Their clothing can hardly be distinguished, but still it is evident that that too was in a measure turned into stone. They are distributed thus—one sitting, with his head leaned, as it were, against a projecting rock, and the other standing with a spear balanced in his hand, as though he was surprised, and had just started on a quick walk. The dog lies as if crouched in terror, or about to make a spring, but the

features of the body are not distinct enough to determine which position.

"This wonderful formation cannot be accounted for in any other way, than that these persons were buried by some terrible convulsion of nature. The cave in which they were found is full 125 feet into the mountain, and is situated about a mile beyond what is called the Mammoth Grotto, in a direct line. The entrance to the place is difficult, and it is thought that it was never before attempted at all. At the foot of the entrance of the cave is a considerable brook of water, which appears to gather from all parts of it. There is also a valley thence to the river. The gentlemen who have made this interesting discovery, are making active preparations to bring away the bodies, which they intend to have forwarded to New York.

"Since the above was written, we have had an invitation to visit the cave and bodies, which we shall most certainly accept. We have hitherto declined to mention the names of the persons to whom we have alluded in this account. One of them is a wealthy Englishman, resident at Philadelphia, John Chester, Esq., and his companion is Mr. Jacob L. Davis, a Philadelphian. The object of their scientific researches is principally their own gratification."—*Tennessee Observer.*

The government of the State of Kentucky is vested in a Legislative body, consisting of a Governor, a Senate, and a House of Representatives. The latter body consists of 100 members, elected annually on the 1st of August. The Senate consists of 38 members, elected for four years, one fourth going out annually. These each receive 3 dollars per day, during the session, which rarely occupies more than from 3 to 4 months in the year.

The Executive consists of the Governor, elected for 4 years, and having a salary of 2,500 dollars, or 500*l.* sterling a year; a Secretary of State, 2 Auditors, a Register of the Land-office, and a Treasurer, each at 1,500 dollars a year.

The Judiciary embraces a Court of Appeals, with a Chief Justice and two Associate Judges, at 2,000 dollars a year each; a Court of Chancery, with a Chancellor, at 3,000 dollars a year; and the other officers paid by fees; and 16 District Courts, with 16 Circuit Judges, each having a salary of 1,500 dollars a year.

There is a Board of Internal Improvements, consisting of a President and 4 other members, at 1,000 dollars a year each; with 8 Engineers, at different stations, on salaries of from 4,000 dollars to 1,200 dollars annually, whose business it is to project, execute, and keep in repair, the various roads and canals approved by the State, and constructed at the public expense.

There is a State Penitentiary at Frankfort, constructed on the Auburn plan, where the inmates are all employed in labour, on the silent system, the number being usually about 150 to 160. Bad as is the system of attending more to the profits to be made out of prisoners, than to the reformation of their characters, it is rendered still worse in Kentucky, by the keeper of the prison being made a partner in the gains. In lieu of salary or other emoluments, he receives half the profits made out of the prisoners; and he has, therefore, exactly the same interest that a slave-owner has in his slaves, to reduce their food and raiment down to the lowest standard compatible with preserving their health and strength, to increase their hours of labour, and to augment, by every possible means, the productiveness of their toils.

There is a State Asylum for Lunatics also at Lexington, erected in 1824. The number of inmates vary from 120 to 150; and the annual cost of the

establishment varies from 80,000 to 90,000 dollars; the number of patients admitted since its erection, now 6 years ago, being 825, of whom 420 have been discharged as recovered, and 287 have died.

The subject of Public Education has but recently engaged the attention of the State Legislature; but it is now in progress towards being acted upon. When the surplus revenue of the United States was divided, a few years ago, among the several States, in the proportion of their population and property, the share received by Kentucky amounted to about 1,000,000 dollars; and this was placed under the trusteeship of commissioners appointed by the Legislature, to form a School Fund. It has been invested in stocks of various descriptions, and the annual interest accruing therefrom, is laid out in the erection of school-houses, the salaries of teachers, and other necessary expenses; but the system is still in its infancy, and has not, therefore, yet had time to produce much fruit.

There is an old collegiate institution at Lexington called the Transylvania University, which was incorporated while this State was part of Virginia, and continued ever since. In 1818 it was remodeled, and placed under the management of a Board of Trustees, 13 in number, chosen once in every two years by the Legislature, by whose funds it is chiefly sustained. It has a President, and 9 Professors, of whom 6 are medical, with 5 tutors and assistants. Its philosophical apparatus and library are both more extensive than in similar institutions in this country; and the number of its students exceeds 400, of whom more than 200 are medical.

Of the religious bodies in the State, the Methodists are deemed the most numerous, having more than 100 preachers, and upwards of 40,000 members. The Baptists come next in order, and exceed the Methodists in the number of their preachers, having nearly 300 ministers, but not more than 30,000 members. The Presbyterians number about 80 ministers, and 10,000 communicants. The Catholics have about 60 clergymen, and from 7,000 to 8,000 worshippers; and the Episcopalians number about 10 ministers, and from 1,500 to 2,000 communicants. The Presbyterians have a Central College at Danville; the Catholics a College at Bardstown; and the Methodists a College at Augusta, all in this State, so that the means of religious instruction are abundant.

The population of Kentucky has not increased so rapidly as that of the adjoining State of Ohio, though it was settled so much earlier, and has equally great natural advantages. The cause of this difference in their rate of progressive increase, is no doubt the superior attractiveness and industry of a free State to a slave State. The contrast may be instructive; here are the returns—

	Ohio.	*Kentucky.*	*Slaves.*
In 1790	3,000	73,677	12,430
1800	45,365	220,959	43,344
1810	230,760	406,511	80,561
1820	581,434	564,317	120,732
1830	937,903	688,844	165,350
	In 50 years Ohio has multiplied more than 300 fold.	In 50 years Kentucky did not multiply 10 fold.	

Or, put in another shape, the contrast will be still more visible, as showing the actual ratio of increase

in each, in the decennial periods between the years of taking the census—

			Increase in Ohio.		*Increase in Kentucky.*
From 1790	to 1800	-	42,365	-	147,282
1800	1810	-	185,395	-	185,552
1810	1820	-	350,674	-	147,806
1820	1830	-	356,469	-	124,527

It is to be hoped that the people of Kentucky, where the climate is as favourable to the labour of the whites as the blacks, and where the soil and climate are not inferior to those of Ohio, will see, in the progressive increase of her neighbouring pattern-state, the great superiority of free labour over slave labour, and soon rid herself of the evil, for this alone is wanting to enable her to rise to her proper scale of rank among the States of the Union.

That my opinion may not be supposed to be the result of a national prejudice as an Englishman, whom the Americans in general are most averse to hear upon the subject of slavery, I subjoin the observations of a resident gentleman of Ohio, Mr. Timothy Walker, as given by him in the Annual Discourse delivered before the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, in December, 1837, of which the following is an extract—

"I unhesitatingly believe, that if the labour of Ohio had been performed by slaves, having no interest in its fruits, instead of freemen toiling for themselves, our population and resources would not have been the half of what they now are. There might have been larger plantations, costlier mansions, and more luxurious proprietors; but the aggregate of wealth, and strength, and comfort, would have been nothing to the present. If any doubt this, let them compare the actual condition of Ohio and

Kentucky. What, I would ask in no invidious spirit, but the absence of slavery here, and its presence there, can explain the immense difference in the progress of these two neighbouring States? Kentucky has as good citizens, as rich soil, as much of it, a better climate, equal natural facilities for transportation, and was settled twelve years earlier than Ohio. Yet the growth of Ohio has been all but double. Such a fact is worth a world of arguments against the economy of slavery. But as an offset to this, we have lately heard the doctrine advanced in high quarters, that slavery serves as the handmaid of liberty. None, we are told, are so truly free, as they who have nothing to do but command their slaves; and none so truly appreciate their liberty, as they who have the contrast of slavery always before their eyes. Such language would sound well in the mouth of a despot, but it falls with an ill grace from the lips of a professed republican. The truth is, that leaving the slaves themselves out of the question, all the tendencies of slavery are anti-republican, even as respects the free; insomuch that a tolerably accurate idea of the landed aristocrasies of Europe may be gathered from our agricultural districts, composed of immense plantations cultivated by slaves, where the few subsist in ease and splendour, on the labours of the many. But I will not pursue this train of thought. The paradox, which makes slavery ancillary to liberty, is too glaring to do harm. The free labourers of Ohio, toiling for and depending on themselves, can never be persuaded that they do not prize liberty as dearly, and worship her as sincerely, as the wealthiest slaveholder in all the land."

Such opinions as these, from a learned and intelligent American citizen, uttered in a grave Discourse before an Historical Society, in the adjoining State to one in which Slavery existed, is worth more than all the declamation with which this subject has been unfortunately treated.

CHAP. XXIII.

Stay at Lexington—Origin of the settlement—Pleasing situation of the town — The University — Private schools — Lunatic asylum — Manufactories — Churches — Inhabitants — Beautiful environs—Woodland pastures—Visit to Mr. Clay's and Governor Wykliffe's residences — Buffaloes — Influence of early settlers on national character—Love of excitement—Hunting —Camp-meetings—Commemoration of the first settlement of Kentucky—Forest-meeting — Barbecue—Religious services—Disastrous issue of the day—Political excitement—Pageants and processions—Immense political assemblage at Tippecanoe —Anniversary celebration on the battle-ground—Excessive admiration of courage by the Americans—Chief recommendation in their late President—Agreeable intercourse—Hospitality —Kentuckian character—Social party—Frequency of triple and quadruple marriages—Free use of tobacco—Convention of planters—Camp-meeting on Temperance—Beauty and interest of the scene—Speeches—Music—Results obtained—Report of the Kentucky Legislative Committees.

THE latter portion of our stay at Lexington gave us some days of delightful weather, during which we were enabled to examine most of the objects of interest in and around the town; and all our inquiries were cordially assisted by those to whom I had the pleasure of being introduced.

The first settlement of Lexington dates back to the year 1775, at which period it was a mere hunting-station of the whites, and tradition preserves the origin of its name as happening thus. A party of hunters were here enjoying the blaze of

their evening fire, seated in their buffalo robes, and carousing after their hard day's toils, when a straggler arriving at their encampment, gave them the first intelligence of the battle of Lexington, in Massachusetts, where the first blood was shed between the Colonists and the British, in the War of the Revolution. Having previously resolved to build some dwellings here, as the commencement of a town, they forthwith, in the enthusiasm of the moment, determined to call it Lexington, in honour of the place at which the first blow for Liberty was struck in the American Colonies. As the battle of Lexington was fought on the 19th of April, 1775, it is probable that this place first received its name in May or June of the same year.

For the first few years of its settlement, the Lexington of Kentucky continued to be a hunting and trading station combined; and to what perils its early inhabitants were exposed may be judged of from the following romantic adventure, recorded in the early annals of the town—

"Early in the spring of 1780, Mr. Alexander M'Connel, of Lexington, went into the woods on foot to hunt deer. He soon killed a large buck, and returned home for a horse to bring it in. During his absence, a party of five Indians on one of their usual skulking expeditions, accidentally stumbled on the body of the deer, and perceiving that it had been recently killed, they naturally supposed that the hunter would speedily return to secure the flesh. Three of them, therefore, took their stations within close rifle shot of the deer, while the other two followed the trail of the hunter, and waylaid the path by which he was expected to return. M'Connel, apprehending no danger, rode carelessly along, until he had come within view of the deer, when he was fired upon by the whole party, and his horse killed. While

labouring to extricate himself from the dying animal, he was instantly seized by his enemies, completely overpowered, and borne off as a prisoner.

"His captors, however, seemed to be a merry, good-natured set of fellows, and permitted him to accompany them unbound; and, what was rather extraordinary, allowed him to retain his gun and hunting-accoutrements. He accompanied them with great apparent cheerfulness through the day, and displayed his dexterity in shooting deer for the use of the company, until they began to regard him with great partiality. Having travelled with them in this manner for several days, they at length reached the banks of the Ohio river. Heretofore, the Indians had taken the precaution to bind him at night, although not very securely; but on that evening he remonstrated with them on the subject, and complained so strongly of the pain which the cords gave him, that they merely wrapped the buffalo tug loosely around his wrists, and having tied it in an easy knot, and attached the extremities of the rope to their own bodies, in order to prevent his moving without awakening them, they very composedly went to sleep, leaving the prisoner to follow their example or not, as he pleased.

"M'Connel determined to effect his escape that night, if possible, as on the following night they would cross the river, which would render it much more difficult. He therefore lay quietly until near midnight, anxiously ruminating upon the best means of effecting his object. Accidentally casting his eyes in the direction of his feet, they fell upon the glittering blade of a knife, which had escaped its sheath, and was now lying near the feet of one of the Indians. To reach it with his hands, without disturbing the two Indians to whom he was fastened, was impossible, and it was very hazardous to attempt to draw it up with his feet. This, however, he attempted. With much difficulty he grasped the blade between his toes, and after repeated and long-continued efforts, succeeded at length in bringing it within reach of his hands.

"To cut his cords, was then but the work of a moment, and gradually and silently extricating his person from the arms of the Indians, he walked to the fire and sat down. He saw that his work was but half done. That if he should attempt to return

home, without destroying his enemies, he would assuredly be pursued, and probably overtaken, when his fate would be certain. On the other hand, it seemed almost impossible for a single man to succeed in a conflict with five Indians, even although unarmed and asleep. He could not hope to deal a blow with his knife so silently and fatally as to destroy each one of his enemies in turn, without awakening the rest. Their slumbers were proverbially light and restless; and if he failed with a single one, he must instantly be overpowered by the survivors. The knife, therefore, was out of the question.

"After anxious reflection for a few minutes, he formed his plan. The guns of the Indians were stacked near the fire; their knives and tomahawks were in sheaths by their sides. The latter he dared not touch for fear of awakening their owners; but the former he carefully removed, with the exception of two, and hid them in the woods, where he knew the Indians would not readily find them. He then returned to the spot where the Indians were still sleeping, perfectly ignorant of the fate preparing for them, and taking a gun in each hand, he rested the muzzles upon a log within six feet of his victims, and having taken deliberate aim at the head of one, and the heart of another, he pulled both triggers at the same moment.

"Both shots were fatal. At the report of their guns, the others sprung to their feet, and stared wildly around them. M'Connel, who had run instantly to the spot where the other rifles were hid, hastily seized one of them, and fired at two of his enemies, who happened to stand in a line with each other. The nearest fell dead, being shot through the centre of the body; the second fell also, bellowing loudly, but quickly recovering, limped off into the woods as fast as possible. The fifth, and only one who remained unhurt, darted off like a deer, with a yell which announced equal terror and astonishment. M'Connel, not wishing to fight any more such battles, selected his own rifle from the stack, and made the best of his way to Lexington, where he arrived safely within two days.

"Shortly afterwards, Mrs. Dunlap, of Fayette, who had been several months a prisoner amongst the Indians on Mad river, made her escape, and returned to Lexington. She reported that

the survivor returned to his tribe with a lamentable tale. He related that he had taken a fine young hunter near Lexington, and had brought him safely as far as the Ohio, but while encamped upon the bank of the river, a large party of white men had fallen upon them in the night, and killed all his companions, together with the poor defenceless prisoner, who lay bound hand and foot, unable either to escape or resist !"*

It was only in the year preceding this, 1779, that the first block-house was built on this spot, when Colonel Patterson, who commanded here, was joined by the M'Connels, one of whom was the hero of the adventure just narrated, by the Lindseys, Mastersons, and Morrisons, from Harrodsburgh ; and Mrs. Morrison is named by Butler as being the first white female that was settled at Lexington.†

After this period, the progress of Lexington was more rapid than before, and for some years it was considered both the political and commercial capital of the State. Even before the separation of Kentucky from Virginia as an independent State, Lexington was honoured with being made the seat of learning, by the establishment there of the Transylvania University. Notwithstanding this, however, in 1797, five years after the independence of Kentucky, there were not more than 50 houses in Lexington, and the wealthiest farmers around it lived in log-cabins. It has now a population of at least 7,000 persons, and is accounted one of the handsomest towns in the State.

The situation of Lexington is extremely beautiful.

* M'Clung's Western Adventure, p. 151.

† History of Kentucky, p. 101.

It stands nearly in the centre of the fine level tract of land already described, called for its fertility the Garden of Kentucky, and has running through it a pretty little stream called Town Fork, which falls into the Elk-horn river, and ultimately into the Ohio. The plan of the town is perfectly regular, the streets running in parallel lines, and being crossed by others at right angles. In the centre of the town is a public square, and in the centre of this, surrounded by trees and lawn, is the spacious Court-House, surmounted by a lofty spire, and resembling a church, rather than a judicial edifice. The main-street, which runs along in front of this, is a mile and half in length, and 80 feet in breadth, and this, as well as the other streets, are paved in the centre with limestone, and on the side-walks with bricks; while all the streets are lined on both sides with lofty and full-foliaged trees, chiefly of the locust, which afford a delightful shade, and pleasing relief to the eye. The private dwellings are neat and handsome, without being large or costly. Gardens and courts, with shrubs and flowers, are agreeably intermingled with the dwellings, which are chiefly of brick or stone; and the effect of the whole, as you walk through the streets, or take passing views of the town at different points, is extremely pleasing.

The finest view of the town and the surrounding country is to be enjoyed from the top of the University, which stands on the northern edge of the town, and on the highest level near it. We availed ourselves of the kind escort of one of the residents, and the permission of the President, to ascend the

roof of this building, and from it the panoramic view was superb. The visible horizon was distant on all sides round from 20 to 30 miles, without an obstacle to intercept the view; and over all this space, the intermingling of groves and fields, houses and gardens, velvet lawns and rich meadows, fat cattle and grazing herds and flocks, presented the most complete picture of abundance and fertility that could be conceived. The scene wanted hills or mountains, lake or rivers, to make it truly picturesque; but even in the absence of these, it was eminently beautiful, and such as the environs of few cities in any country could present.

The University, which is the chief public building of the place, was founded about the year 1790, when Kentucky formed part of Virginia; and, for some time after this became an independent State, the University was sustained by annual grants from the State Legislature. It was then under the direction of the Episcopalians, who in the early settlement of the State, were the most numerous; and the first religious service ever performed in Kentucky was when the prayers of the Church of England were read under a large elm-tree, in the woods near Boonesborough. After a lapse of time, however, the Presbyterians contrived to push the Episcopalians aside, and take the reins of government into their own hands. This excited the jealousy of other sects, and by repeated feuds and struggles between these rival parties, the University lost its reputation, and the number of its students diminished. At one time, under the superintendence of Dr. Holly, it numbered in all its schools—literary, law, and

medical—nearly 500 students. Not many years after his removal, it dwindled down to nothing, and was actually shut up for some years. It again revived by the munificent grant of 100,000 dollars, made by an individual, Major Morrison, after whom it is now called Morrison College, instead of Transylvania University, the name it originally bore. But being burnt down a few years since—for everything in this country disappears in process of time by the destroying element of fire—it required a large portion of that sum to rebuild the edifices, which are indeed hardly yet complete. The façade of the principal entrance to the building in which the chapel and the class-rooms are, has a good Doric portico, of chaste proportions, but disfigured by the bad taste almost universally prevalent in this country, of making the flights of steps too high and too steep, so that instead of gently ascending by a flight of half a dozen steps, at an angle of from 20 to 25 degrees, you have almost to climb up a flight of some 15 or 20 steps, at an angle of from 40 to 45 degrees, to the great discomfort of those who approach these buildings, as well as to the great disadvantage of the architectural view. In narrow streets, where ground could not be had to project the steps sufficiently from the front, some excuse might be found for this practice; but in a country where any space required may be had for public buildings, it is inexcusable, and is a piece of bad taste that requires correction.

Within a few years past, another mode has been had recourse to, of raising funds for this Institution, which has been by inviting individual subscriptions

of 500 dollars each, and giving the subscriber the right to send one student to the College for a course of gratuitous education ; and this has realized a fund of 150,000 dollars for the present. The fees of tuition are too low, and the number of students too few to sustain the Institution from this source alone ; and even with these auxiliary aids it is said to be constantly in difficulty.

In the preparatory school, there are about 60 boys ; in the literary department of the College, 50 ; in the law department, about 70 ; and in the medical department, more than 200 ; the two latter classes, however, assemble only in the winter, so that at present there was only the literary class in session. The faculty consists of a president, Dr. Marshall, brother to the late Judge Marshall, and six professors and tutors ; and the cost of a course of general education to each student is about 150 dollars per annum. The united Libraries of the College, of which the Medical Library is the principal, contains upwards of 14,000 volumes.

There are a number of private schools, male and female, both in the town and in its neighbourhood : the young ladies of one of these, exceeding 100 in number, underwent a three days' examination in the Methodist Church, during our stay here, being brought in from the school, which is two miles off, each morning in hackney-coaches, all dressed alike, in white muslin and blue ribands, and forming quite an interesting procession.

The State Lunatic Asylum is one of the public buildings of Lexington, at a distance of about a mile from the town, in a north-west direction.

Like all such Institutions in this country, this is well situated, well built, and well furnished, with pleasant grounds and gardens, agreeable and cheerful rooms, and every requisite, in medical superintendence, keepers, and nurses, for the care and treatment of about 100 patients.

There are a few manufactories in the town, of cotton, bagging, and cordage, and others for spinning and weaving cotton and wool, in the latter of which good carpets are woven ; there are, besides, some machine-factories, where machines and implements used in agriculture are made ; the whole of these not employing, however, more than 800 hands.

The Churches are 11 in number, of which there are 2 Presbyterian, 1 Episcopal, 1 Methodist, 1 Baptist, 2 Catholic—one of these, however, an ancient chapel, not much used—1 Campbelite, 1 Unitarian, and 2 African churches for coloured people.

The inhabitants are estimated at 7,000, of whom about 2,000 are negro slaves, employed in agriculture, labour, and domestic service. Among the whites, there is apparently more of wealth and competency than in towns of a similar size ; many of the inhabitants having large farms of from 500 to 1,000 acres, to which they retire in the summer, and leave them under the management of an overseer during the rest of the year, living upon the income yielded by their estates. Even the families engaged in trade, as keepers of stores, lay by their surplus for investment in land, till they acquire a pleasant country-residence, with

fields and gardens, and become ultimately large proprietors of well-cultivated and well-stocked farms. The neighbourhood of Lexington is therefore thickly studded with country-residences and farm-houses; and the taste for rural beauty and ornamental gardening being greater here than in the Eastern States, and improving every year, Lexington cannot fail to become more and more beautiful, as it increases in wealth and population.

During our stay here, I visited two estates in the neighbourhood—that of Mr. Clay, the Kentucky Senator, and that of Mr. Wykliffe, Ex-Governor of the State. Nothing can exceed the beauty of the drive from Lexington to these estates at this season of the year; the distance of the first being only a mile, and the last about three miles from the town. On both sides of the road, the verdure of the rich grass and young wheat surpassed anything I remember to have seen, in brightness; and the full luxuriant foliage of the trees was of the same character. One peculiar feature of beauty in the woods deserves especial notice. From the primitive forests all the small trees and shrubs are cut down, or rooted up, and the burnt wood consumed by fire, when the soil is turned up, and sown with grass-seed; the result of which is to convert all the surface into a beautiful lawn, as soft and smooth as velvet; while the largest trees remain, to afford shade, but yet sufficiently distant from each other to admit the sunlight, and free ventilation. These woodland pastures, as they are called, form delicious retreats for the cattle that are fed there, and look as beautiful as most of our English parks.

The pastures are fenced in, by smooth and even horizontal bars, instead of ugly and broken zigzag rails, and everything wears an air of greater neatness and care than is usual in this country; though there are still wanting the beautiful hedge-rows, tasteful cottages, and splendid mansions, to make it resemble England.

Mr. Clay's farm at Ashland, is about 500 acres in extent, and in excellent order; and the interest which he is known to feel in the improvement of agriculture and breeding of stock, ensure the attention of his family and superintendents to these objects, during his unavoidably long absence from home at the seat of Legislature in Washington, where he now was, and would continue for a month or two longer, till the close of the session.

On the farm of Governor Wykliffe, we saw a small herd of the American bison, or buffaloes of the prairie, which were kept as gentlemen keep deer in the parks in England, for ornament rather than use. They were sufficiently tame to allow the approach of visitors quite near enough to survey them distinctly, though you could not get near enough to touch them. They were as large as a good ox, but of a uniform dull-brown colour, with small heads lowly hung, curved horns, fierce eyes, shaggy forehead and mane, and immensely thick over the shoulders, where all their strength seemed to lie; the hind parts were considerably smaller than those of the ox; and when they galloped or ran, it was with a most awkward and shuffling gait. Several of the female buffaloes had their young calves by their side, and these were more unwilling than the rest to

let strangers approach them. The males are said to be sometimes so fierce as to make it dangerous to go near them; one, indeed, was recently killed by the owner, expressly on the ground of his ferocity. No use is made of them for milk or food, but they are appropriate representatives of by-gone days, when all the vast tract of land now forming the Garden of Kentucky, was covered with countless herds of their predecessors, as Daniel Boone first looked down upon these plains, and saw them grazing on the primitive pastures of rich grass which then tempted them to these solitudes. It was impossible, indeed, not to be carried back in imagination to those comparatively recent days, when this "Eden of the Red Man," as it was called by some, or "the dark and bloody ground," as it was called by others, had no permanent inhabitant, and not a single dwelling; and in contrasting its present condition with its past, it was equally impossible not to be filled with gratitude and admiration at the astonishing and agreeable change, which in the short space of less than seventy years, the ordinary life of man, had converted the solitary forest into peopled fields, and made "the wilderness to blossom as the rose."

The influence of the taste and character of the early settlers is felt in their descendants, especially in their love of enterprise and excitement. War and hunting have charms for them, which are irresistible. When the services of volunteers against the British were sought in the last war, Kentucky is said to have sent 7,000 riflemen out of her hills and valleys, while hundreds more wished to follow, but were restrained by those who had authority or influence

over them; and recently, when the possibility of a war on the north-east boundary between New Brunswick and Maine was talked of, the Kentuckians were burning with impatience for the fray. Hunting parties are frequent; and you meet hunters on the road, with their rifles on their shoulders, and a young deer across their backs, or, if a large one, thrown across their horses, in the public ways. During the last week only, the summer races were held here, and thousands were gathered in from the surrounding country, till every house and every bed in Lexington was full.

It was this love of the forests, and craving for excitement, combined, that caused the Camp-Meetings of early days to be more frequent and more extravagant in Kentucky than elsewhere; and even now, if any great assemblage of the people is proposed for any public purpose, the woods and forests form the scene of their assemblages. A recent instance of this occurred, of which, but for the heavy rains that delayed us on our journey, we should have been witnesses. It was determined to get up a Commemoration of the first settling of Kentucky, on this, its 65th anniversary; and public announcements were made that the Celebration would be held at Boonesborough, where the first fort was built, on the Kentucky river. The proceedings were to occupy three days, of which the first, Saturday the 23rd of May, was to be devoted to military exercises and display; Sunday the 24th, to religious services; and Monday, to a grand barbecue or feasting, all to take place in the woods; and appeals were made to all classes of Kentuckians who had any particle of the flame of *amor patriæ* burning in their bosoms, to attend.

As this was the first occasion of such celebration, the appeal was responded to with ardour; and young men from all parts of the State organized themselves in great numbers, into military companies, with new and splendid uniforms, to march to the scene, and form an encampment on the grounds. Several eminent divines, of all denominations, were invited to join in the religious worship, and they prepared for this service with alacrity; while ladies in great numbers, to the extent of several thousands, are said to have put their wardrobes in requisition for the display of all their attractions on the closing day. The first meeting on Saturday was attended by about 10,000 persons; and the military display was said to be very imposing. On the Sunday, the morning being fine, the number had nearly doubled, and ladies came in squadrons from all quarters, in carriages and on horseback, and all in their gayest attire. At the appointed time, divine service was commenced by an Episcopalian clergyman—the first public worship ever held in Kentucky having been in the ritual of the Church of England, under a large elm-tree, near the spot where they now were—but scarcely had the first portion of the prayers been read, before a heavy shower of rain obliged the multitude to disperse, and the clergyman to suspend the service till two o'clock. At the appointed hour, they resumed their devotions; but a few moments after commencing, the clouds began to lower, and soon poured down upon them a second flood of rain. The worship was, therefore, abruptly closed; the ladies retreated to the tents of the volunteers, who, with becoming gallantry, gave place to the fair occupants, and them-

selves bivouacked in the rain, not merely for all the remainder of the afternoon, but during all the night; so that when the morning of Monday opened with still heavier torrents than before, the ladies in the tents, to the number of more than a thousand, as the greatest portion had driven off during the preceding evening toward their homes, were seen covered with mud, and drenched with rain ; while the young men, to use the expression of one who was on the ground, and himself a sufferer, "looked like an army of drowned fugitives drawn out of the sea."

All thoughts of the barbecue were now abandoned, and, as the only thing that remained to be done, a small handful of the least injured and most zealous repaired to a private dwelling, where the oration prepared for the occasion was delivered to a select few ; the original manuscript journals of the first legislative assembly that met under the elm-tree where divine worship was first performed, were exhibited to the company ; and mutual condolenecs were exchanged at the untoward war of the elements against their first Celebration. It was mentioned at this meeting, that in this manuscript journal was recorded the fact of Daniel Boone being one of the first legislative assembly under the elm-tree ; that the spread of its branches was upwards of 100 feet in diameter ; that under it, in this sylvan hall of legislation, the old hunter lamented that game was already beginning to be shy and scarce, the buffalo and the elk being thinned by marauders ; and that he proposed the adoption of a law similar to one which then prevailed in his native State, North Carolina, borrowed from the mother-country England, for the punish-

ment of poachers and the protection of game! But his project of introducing the game-laws of England into the yet untamed wilds of Kentucky, found no favour with his companions, and he was accordingly outvoted.

The disappointment felt by thousands at the failure of this first attempted Celebration of the Foundation of Kentucky, was poignant in the extreme; for such was the confidence of an immense assemblage at the barbecue on the third day, had the weather proved propitious, that from 40,000 to 50,000 were generally expected. The preparations for the feast embraced 15 fat oxen, 200 sheep, 200 calves, and 200 hogs, all of which were to be roasted whole, the pits for the fires having been dug, the bars of iron for the horizontal spits and grates being on the ground, the fuel ready prepared, and everything requisite for this woodland banquet amply provided.

The political excitement of the day, in the pending contest for the Presidency, is, perhaps, stronger in Kentucky than in any State of the Union; for though Ohio enters with great zeal into the conflict for its own citizen, General Harrison, yet Kentucky has the additional stimulus of vexation, at the putting aside her own Henry Clay; and seeing that the only chance of his ever becoming President of the United States, is in the previous election of General Harrison, who is pledged to serve only one term of four years, and then resign, and exercise all his influence to secure Mr. Clay as his successor; the Kentuckians are spurred on by this consideration to the greatest exertions, and with the fire

and animation of their character, they bear down all before them. Tippecanoe clubs, log-cabins, Harrison banners, and all the insignia of party, meet you here at every turn, and nothing is heard at all hours of the day, and at the corners of every street, but discourses on the progress of the Harrison cause; while those who do not join the Harrison ranks, are branded as traitors to their country. This practice of "man-worship," as it has been not inappropriately called, is carried to a much greater length than I ever remember to have seen it in England; though under a monarchy one might expect to see more of it than in a republic. It has been carried here of late to such an excess, indeed, as to have drawn forth the sober and well-merited reproof of an able pen, one of the judges of New England, who seems to have left it as a dying legacy to his countrymen, as he expired within a few days after he had written it. But its interest and value, as a faithful delineation of national weakness, from one who loved his country too well to see it running headlong into folly without lifting up his warning voice, will make it acceptable to many, as beyond all suspicion of prejudice, which might attach to the same sentiments if written by an Englishman. The writer says—

"To maintain republican principles and a republican government, it is necessary that we preserve republican habits and customs. We affect to be free, yet we glory in being the slaves of party. We profess toleration, yet we proscribe, as unworthy of public confidence, the brother who dissents from our political creed, or who refuses to support our candidate, be he ever so bad. We are republicans by profession, but aristocrats or sycophants in practice.

"Our news-journals, for the last two months, have been filled with accounts of pageant-processions, laudatory addresses, and sumptuous entertainments, got up, ostensibly, in honour of distinguished citizens, whose duties or pleasures have induced them to travel abroad. Thousands, many thousands, have been expended, a vast deal of time has been wasted, and some of the more dangerous of the human passions invoked, in getting up these shows—not so much, we suspect, with the view of doing real honour to the individuals, as of strengthening the interests of party, and subserving the sinister purposes of individuals. As republicans, we ridicule the adulatory homage paid to the crowned heads and privileged classes of Europe, by what we term an "ignorant and enslaved population;" and yet we outstrip them in indiscriminate and fulsome panegyric, and partisan worship. Our constitution aud laws regard public officers as public servants, not elevated for their own, but for the public good; yet, in our practice, we treat them as our masters, and it would be no wonder, such is human propensity to abuse power, if they soon assumed to be such. Rome granted triumphs to her distinguished men; and these distinguished men became her masters. Elections by the legitimate authorities soon ceased to be voluntary; and Cæsars were raised up, by the tumultuous acclamations of the mob, or the army, to curse and enslave the republic.

"We would by no means withhold from public officers the respect due to their stations, nor from distinguished individuals, the honour due to their merits. We would as cordially tender our hand, and our respects, to merit, as any man; yet we verily think that this respect and this honour would be more compatible with our republican professions, less derogatory to our dignity as freemen, and equally complimentary to those whom we would honour, if processions, cavalcades, and military parade, were dispensed with. It is but too apparent, that these pageants are got up for party, and not for public benefit; and that if tolerated, they will increase in frequency and in mischief. It is not the evils that have happened that we so much deprecate, but the evils that are likely to grow out of these anti-republican precedents.

"It should be a man's virtues, his public services, and his

fidelity to our republican institutions, that should recommend him to public confidence and support—and these are likely to be known whenever they are developed—and not the number of partisans which can be drummed up to swell his cavalcade. A good man needs not these extraneous anti-republican contrivances, and a bad man is certainly not entitled to them."

Besides the great Baltimore Convention, recently held, to proclaim General Harrison as everything that greatness and goodness combined could furnish for a Republican President, at which 25,000 delegates and 100,000 spectators from every part of the Union were assembled, and probably 2,000,000 of dollars expended in mere parade and pageantry,—the Kentucky Celebration was hardly closed before an immense assemblage was gathered together on the battle-ground of Tippecanoe, near the Wabash river in Indiana, to commemorate the bravery and success of General Harrion, who commanded at that battle: and on the last three days of May, the weather being remarkably favourable for such a meeting, thousands were gathered there from all the adjoining States, to swell the military processions and festal triumphs of the day. The time wasted, and the money expended on these occasions, is not the greatest evil; for a greater still is, the habit of dissipation, the love of excitement, and the indulgence of fierce and angry passions which are thus gratified; and the frequent recurrences of such scenes, can hardly fail to be productive of a much larger amount of evil to the morality of the community, than of good to its political independence.

Already the admiration of warriors, and the longing for war, as a means of displaying national and

individual bravery, is everywhere too prevalent; but in America it is even higher than in France; and although no nation on the earth has its true interests more intimately blended with peace than the United States, yet, in no country would a war be hailed with louder acclamations by the masses. This arises from the universal belief among the people that they are superior to every other nation in arms; and a common saying among them is this—"The English can whip all Europe, and the Americans can whip the English." They have persuaded themselves into a belief that in every instance in which they were victorious over the English, by land or by sea, it was by dint of sheer bravery alone, and against unequal numbers; and they have equally persuaded themselves to believe that in all instances in which the English were victorious over them, it was by mere accident or good fortune, or by the overwhelming superiority of the British force. Of the naval engagements, in which so many of their ships of war were taken by the British, you never see an engraving, or hear a word spoken. Of those in which the English ships were taken, you see pictures in every town, and generally with the English vessels greatly augmented in size, both of hull and guns; while the American vessels are as much diminished, so as, by the seeming inferiority of size and calibre in the smaller and weaker ship, to make the merit of the victory the more conspicuous. In short, with the people of this country, courage seems to be regarded as the greatest virtue under heaven; and almost every vice is palliated in those who manifest this virtue in an eminent degree; while no amount of merit in other

respects could atone in the public mind for the want of this quality. Hence the lenity shown to those who murder their fellows by the pistol and the bowie knife, in duels and street affrays. Hence the admiration of General Jackson and General Harrison, whose military exploits reckon up as more than nine-tenths of their collective merits; and hence the conviction on the part of the National Convention, with whom the nomination of a candidate rested, that the populace could not be made to feel so high an admiration for the political and statesman-like talents of Clay or Webster, or any other mere civilian, as they would for the prowess of a military chief; and more especially if he had "whipped the British," a merit beyond all others. It was this which won for General Jackson his elevation to the Presidency; and it was this influence and the pledge made by Mr. Van Buren to follow in the footsteps of his "illustrious predecessor," that secured him the succession to the "great chief," under whom, he said "it was glory enough to have served," and it will be this that will secure the election of General Harrison.

One might have hoped that the world had grown old enough and wise enough by this time, to see the folly of this idolizing warriors, and encouraging and eulogizing war. Of all the errors into which mankind have fallen, there is perhaps hardly one more gross than that of regarding physical bravery as a virtue of the highest distinction, for there is no quality so common as this. The brutes have it in as great perfection as man; the lion, the tiger, the wolf and the bear, the bull, and even the common dog, will evince an equal degree of courage with

the greatest heroes of the earth; and sometimes make the boldest hearts tremble with fear. But even among men, the savage of New Zealand, the Indian of the Mississippi, the Arab of the Desert, and the Calmuc of Tartary, all possess as large a share of courage as any Greek or Roman hero, known to fame; and if a single combat could be instituted between the first Generals of Europe and America on the one hand, and an equal number of the warriors and braves of the Sacs and Foxes, Sioux and Ioways, among the Indian savages of this continent, on the other, in which personal bravery alone was to decide the contest, it would be matter of doubt, in any impartial mind, whether the Indians would not conquer; their contempt of danger—their power of enduring pain—their sense of honour in warring to the last gasp—and their strength, agility, and ferocity combined, making them the tigers of the human race.

And yet, in the face of all this, courage still holds its place as the highest virtue among men; its absence is punished with the greatest degree of contumely; and though Christianity has been preached for nearly 1,800 years, and millions of the human race pray daily, in the language of their avowed Saviour, that their own trespasses may be forgiven as they forgive those who trespass against them, yet the individual who acts on this divine maxim, and either refuses to take vengeance on those who offend him, or recommends that nations, as well as individuals, should forgive each other as they hope to be forgiven, would be frowned out of all gentlemanly society, and deemed unworthy the name of a patriot or a man. Such is the blind-

ness of those who follow custom rather than reason; who prefer the world's applause, to the approbation of their own hearts; and who think their homage to the dictates of erring man, a more important service than their duty to God.

Our stay in Lexington was rendered peculiarly agreeable by the kind and hospitable attentions shown to us by many of its inhabitants. In this respect, it presented a striking contrast to Cincinnati. To that city, of 50,000 inhabitants, I brought at least 30 letters of introduction, and we did not receive an invitation to enter the dwelling, or take a meal, or pass a social evening, from any one of all that number, though we were in the city a fortnight, and had several evenings of leisure on which my lectures were not delivered. We passed but one evening out of our hotel, and that was with an agreeable family, whom we had met at New Orleans during the last year, and who were about to depart for England. The only attentions we received, indeed, in Cincinnati, were from the English residents, to some of whom I had been known at home, before they came to this country; and, upon the whole, Cincinnati was to us the most inhospitable place we had yet visited in all the United States. This could not have arisen from any personal objection to myself as an individual, for in no city were my lectures more fully attended. But, from all I could learn, the Cincinnatians were made very angry by the remarks of previous English travellers on their character and peculiarities, and seemed to have formed a determination never to ask another English traveller within their doors. Like the

Bostonians, from whom the greatest majority of the American population there, it is said, are sprung, they wrap themselves up in the belief that they are the most literary and intellectual society in the world, and any one who disturbs them in this self-complacency, they regard as a deadly enemy. Mrs. Trolloppe, Miss Martineau, and Captain Marryatt, hardly ever have their names pronounced there without expressions of extreme contempt and indignation; and, supposing it probable that all other English travellers will be likely to follow in the same course, they seem determined that of their domestic manners and domestic homes they shall be kept in the profoundest ignorance; as if, not to know the society of Cincinnati, was a punishment of the severest kind, to be inflicted on all Englishmen and Englishwomen, through all future generations.

Here in Lexington, however, though I brought only 3 letters of introduction, we were called upon by more than 30 persons within the first two days, and by at least an equal number in the succeeding ones. At the close of my first lecture, instead of the profound silence and immediate retirement of the whole audience, without personal communication, or the expression of any feeling, privately or publicly,—which is the general practice in most parts of the United States, whoever may be the lecturer, or whatever the degree of pleasure received in listening to his discourse,—here in Lexington, the close of the lecture was followed by such a hearty round of applause, as I had not heard more than twice or thrice since I left England; and a gentleman, rising from the audience, begged to submit to the assembly

before they separated, a resolution that each person present should endeavour to bring at least ten other persons along with them on the succeeding evening, —which motion was duly seconded, and as heartily responded to; the consequence of which was a large increase on the following night.

This, I was told, was quite "Kentuckian," there being a heartiness, a frankness, a warmth, and a generosity, in the character of these neighbours and descendants of Virginians from the Old Dominion, which is found nowhere in the more Northern States. Another circumstance, which, though trifling in its nature, is highly characteristic, and is besides quite unique, was this. I had issued here, as I had done elsewhere, in accordance with the general custom of the country, tickets of free admission to my lectures to the clergy of all denominations—custom having sanctioned this as one of the "established privileges" of their order, and made it so much a matter of right, that I scarcely remember an instance in the Northern States of being even thanked for it. Here in Kentucky, however, polite notes of acknowledgment, and verbal communications of obligation for the favour, flowed in upon me almost immediately after their issue; and, in some instances, the price of the ticket was enclosed, with complimentary expressions of a reluctance to enjoy so great a treat without fairly contributing towards the unavoidable expense of diffusing such information, in which the clergy ought to feel as deep an interest as any class, from its tendency to illustrate Scriptural History, and therefore subserve the cause of religion. All this was done and expressed with a degree of generosity

and delicacy combined, such as I had often met with in similar cases in England, it is true, but no instance of the kind had ever before occurred to me in the United States; and this trait, therefore, was as truly "Kentuckian," as that of the resolution proposed and seconded at the close of my first lecture.

Of the hospitality of Lexington, with its 7,000 inhabitants, only 5,000 of whom are whites, we saw and enjoyed more in the few days that we passed here, than we did at Cincinnati in the weeks of our stay there. One of the most agreeable evenings, indeed, that we had yet passed in the United States, was at the house of Mr. C. M. Clay, a distant relative of the senator, who was absent at Washington: and it would be difficult to collect in any provincial town in England, of the same size as Lexington, a party possessing more literary taste, more general intelligence, more elegance of manners, or more polished urbanity, than this social circle contained, rendered still more agreeable by the charm of frankness and cordial warmth, which evinced itself in every word and action, and the evident delight which it afforded to all present, to contribute to our gratification.

Though affluence is so general among the landed proprietors, some having estates of from 3,500 to 5,000 acres, realizing large incomes from their agricultural produce and stock, and often doubling these incomes by successful speculations in grain, cotton, hemp, and cattle; and though the country is so beautiful, and the climate apparently so pure, health seems to be at a low standard, and life held

upon a more frail tenure here, than in almost any part of Europe. As we took our morning drives around the delightful environs of Lexington, on every avenue to which are villas and pretty country-seats, we were shown the house and grounds of some rich bachelors, who had lost two, three, and four wives, and one had buried the extraordinary number of six, with each of whom he had received a fortune, and he was not now more than 35 years of age! Not far from the same gentleman lived a rich widow, with a beautiful house and grounds, and a fine estate, who had already buried three husbands, and was yet at an age which would make a fourth acceptable. So frequent are the instances of persons of both sexes having married three and four times in this country, as compared with England, that I think I have heard of more persons in this condition during the three years we have passed in the United States, than I remember to have done in all the previous years of my life put together.

Tobacco being one of the staple productions of Kentucky, its use in chewing and smoking is as prevalent here as in Virginia. Even the venerable president of the University, when we went to visit the institution, met us at the portico with a segar in his mouth, and chewed copiously at the same time. The students were, of course, not likely to be uninfluenced by the example of their head preceptor, and accordingly we saw boys of ten and twelve years of age, with their quids and segars; while the steps of the Doric portico, ascending to the chapel, were literally strewed with the fragments of each. As you walk in the streets also, there is not one person

in ten of all you meet who does not use tobacco: in the morning and evening, you will see groups of smokers, and some solitary ones, seated on one chair, with their legs thrown high up on the back of another placed before them, under the shade of the locust-trees that line the side-walks of the Main Street, especially in front of the principal stores and hotels, where they idly lounge away many hours in the course of a day.

Excessive, however, as is the use of this nauseous and filthy weed,—which not one in a thousand can initiate themselves into the use of, without being made sick by the experiment, from which every animal but man turns away in disgust, and the fumes of which are so offensive to females, that all smoking is prohibited in stage-coaches, railroads, steamboats, and apartments in hotels in which ladies are seated; —notwithstanding all this, new efforts are to be made to *increase* the consumption of this condemned and stigmatized production, in foreign countries, as will be seen by the following report of a "Tobacco Convention," held at the seat of government, within the last few weeks, the statistics of which show the vast extent of the consumption already attained, and the complaints of which equally show the eagerness of those interested to increase the consumption still farther. This report was published in the Lexington Observer, of the 30th of May, during our stay here, and is as follows—

"At the Convention of Tobacco Planters, held at Washington last Friday and Saturday, a report was made, which embraces some important statistical facts in relation to this branch of trade.

"The average value of tobacco exported to Europe from October, 1835, to September, 1838, was 7,297,793 dollars, or about one tenth in value of the whole export of our domestic produce to Europe.

"On about 100,000 hogsheads of American tobacco, which costs in the United States about 7 millions of dollars, Europe levies a revenue of 30 millions.

"The annual average consumption of our tobacco in Great Britain is estimated at 18,000 hogsheads, which render a gross revenue of 17,275,700 dollars. The duty imposed is 3s., equal to 72¼ cents per pound, or over 800 per cent. The convention justly complain of the continued heavy burdens imposed upon tobacco imported from the United States into foreign countries, whose products and manufactures are admitted into this country entirely free of, or at a nominal duty. This inequality is at war with that spirit of reciprocity by which friendly commercial nations should be governed, and a longer submission to it by the Government of the United States would be unjust to the planters, destructive of their interests, and evince a gross want of attention to their just remonstrances.

"Committees were appointed to memorialize Congress on the subject, and to prepare and circulate an address to the tobacco planters."

That the free use of tobacco, whether in chewing or smoking, is calculated to excite thirst, and that this thirst, being artificial, cannot be so easily allayed by simple water, as by the use of diluted stimulants, is a fact which few will venture to dispute; hence weak brandy-and-water, cold punch, and mint juleps, are the first favourite drinks of the tobacco user. But it is in the very nature of stimulants to pall gradually upon the appetite, so as to require a progressive augmentation of their strength, to keep up the desired degree of pleasure or excitement; and thus weak brandy-and-water is soon exchanged for strong, and

the water growing gradually less and less agreeable, is ultimately discarded, and pure spirits substituted instead. There is scarcely a hard drinker in all this country, therefore, who did not chew or smoke, before he began to drink to excess at all, and who may not trace a large portion of his appetite for alcoholic drinks, to the previous use of tobacco. On the lower classes of society here, this double poison operates with fearful force; and among them, as in the States further south and west, such as Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Missouri, are to be found some of the fiercest and most revolting exhibitions of unbridled passion and revolting cruelty, that the annals of the country contain. Here is a single example only, among many, taken from one of the journals of the State—

"The Frankfort (Kentucky) Commonwealth of the 17th inst., gives the following revolting particulars in a letter from Greensburgh, in that State, dated March 8th. It appears there lived, in July, 1838, about 7 miles from that town, an aged woman named Lucinda White, with her 2 sons, aged 14 and 13, and a daughter-in-law (whose husband lives in the Southern States), with an infant about 20 months old. Intending to move south in the month of July, 1838, as above, a man named Carrington Simpson undertook to convey them, and on a certain night, he set off with the younger Mrs. White, the infant, and the younger boy, all on pack-horses. In about a mile, Simpson knocked them on the head till they were dead, and buried them in a hole two feet deep, near an old outhouse. The next morning the elder boy was sent off from the home of his mother, and the same night the old woman was killed, and buried in the same hole; and in a week after, the older boy returning, was also killed, and buried in the same place—making five human beings murdered! Suspicions lately led to the arrest of Simpson, when 60 or 70 men turned out, and found the bones, and an inquest was held. Simp-

son has confessed, and implicates two others whose names are concealed. The fiend killed them for their property, which consisted of a few beds and old furniture, altogether not worth 100 dollars! The two implicated by Simpson, and the family of the latter, have all been arrested. This deed of blood almost outherods all that has blackened the annals of our country."

The last day that we passed in Lexington, was one of the most agreeable of all our stay there, pleasurable as the whole period was to us in a very high degree. Early in the morning, the day being delightfully fine, we were taken in the carriage of the friends by whom we had been so hospitably entertained, to some of the most beautiful villas in the neighbourhood, and remained for some time in the delightful grounds and gardens of one of these, Mr. Irvine's, in which there was a combination of exuberant fertility, woodland beauty, floral variety, and exquisite taste in the blending of art with nature, such as I had hardly expected to have seen in a State which, little more than half a century ago, was almost a tangled forest and untrodden wilderness. From hence we attended the Episcopal church, in Lexington, and heard an able and eloquent sermon from the Rev. Mr. Berkeley; and in the afternoon we attended the first camp-meeting at which we had been present in America, held on the subject of Temperance.

The spot chosen for this meeting, was a shady grove of forest trees, called The Locust Grove of Sandersville, at a distance of three miles from Lexington, in one of the most beautiful of the many avenues that lead to and from this city. The Committee of Arrangements having waited on me with

a special invitation to be present and take part in the proceedings, as the whole community here were aware of the interest I had taken in this great question in England. I accompanied them with my family in a visit to this spot, in the afternoon at 3 o'clock, the time appointed for assembling.

On reaching the grounds, the sight was one of the most interesting that can well be conceived. Nothing could be more beautiful than the spot chosen for the purpose. A lawn, as green as the emerald, and as soft as velvet, spread over an area of several acres in extent, deliciously shaded with full-foliaged locust-trees, was covered with an assemblage of about 2,000 persons, all well-dressed, the ladies more numerous than the gentlemen, and the greater number comfortably seated on planks and benches that had been provided for the occasion. In addition to this central multitude, there were at least 100 carriages of various kinds, drawn up around their outer edge, and hemming in the assembly, as in a ring-fence or circle; all these carriages being full of well-dressed ladies, and the box-seats and roofs occupied by gentlemen. Beyond and between these, were scarcely less than 200 persons on horseback; and scattered about underneath the trees, and without the limits of the circle, were a great number of horses, whose riders had procured seats, and left their animals to graze in the pasture. At one edge of this circle, a platform was erected about six feet above the ground, on which the President and speakers were seated; and in front of this platform, was a numerous choir of musical instruments and vocal performers, belonging to the several churches in Lexington, who had united their

forces for this interesting occasion; as the ministers of all the churches in Lexington, without distinction, had announced from their pulpits, at the close of the morning service, that it was their wish that their respective congregations should attend this Temperance meeting; regarding, as they did, Temperance as one of the fairest handmaids of religion: and to assist in the celebration, all the choirs of the several churches were permitted and recommended to unite together on the ground.

After an opening prayer, and an anthem, I was introduced by the President, the Rev. Dr. Mitchell, to address the assembly, and give them some account of the rise and progress of the Temperance Reformation in England. My address extended to about an hour, and nothing could be more cordial or respectful than the attention it received from all present. I had never before seen a public meeting in the open air so orderly and so attentive. Not a person out of all those present appeared to me to move from their original position, till the speech was concluded, and even then but few changed their places, and that as silently as possible. Instead of the hurrying to and fro of carriages, the vociferations of coachmen, the intrusions of persons on horseback, and the resistance to their encroachments by those on foot, which so often disturb the order of out-of-door meetings in England and France, this was as quiet and decorous as if it had been held in a church. No doubt the sacredness of the day, the solemnity of the scene, and the nature of the object for which the meeting was held, each had their share in producing this result; but it was most agreeable, and made it,

to me at least, in all respects, one of the most delightful meetings in the open air that I had ever witnessed anywhere.

The Reverend Mr. Broaddus, from Virginia, who prided himself on being a son of "the Old Dominion," and claimed affinity with the Kentuckians on that ground, followed me in a most effective speech. The Reverend Dr. Fishback succeeded him, in a short address, containing the substance of the last Report of the Legislature of Kentucky, on the subject of Temperance; and the Reverend Mr. Brush closed the proceedings of the day by delivering the benediction. In the intervals between each speech, the choir sang some old church-anthems of the Arne and Handel school, and executed them with great taste and precision, considering the number of voices engaged; and the force of the impression made on those present may be judged of from the fact, that before the meeting was closed, upwards of 250 names had been handed up to the President on cards, of persons who desired to join the Temperance Society of Sandersville Grove, which was there instituted by an unanimous resolution on the spot. The gentleman chosen as the President of this Society was the owner of the beautiful estate on which the meeting was held. Besides the 254 names reported from the platform as handed up for announcement, it was believed that at least an equal number of cards were in the hands of the collectors, who had been deputed to receive them in those parts of the meeting remote from the platform; so that probably 500 persons became that day associated in this new Society, for the formation of which, as well

as for the general advocating of Temperance, the meeting was held.

If the first gathering together of this assemblage was interesting to witness, and its proceedings calculated to excite only pleasurable sensations, its dispersion was not less remarkable than either. There seemed such universal satisfaction marked on every countenance; so many greetings and congratulations between those who had been anxious about the result, and were overjoyed to find it so favourable; so many exchanges of resolves and pledges to leave nothing undone to keep up the feeling now created; and such a lingering round the delightful spot, as if unwilling to depart; that I think the setting sun could not have poured his parting rays, even on this holy day, on a happier, or a purer assemblage, of the same number of human beings anywhere in his circle. There was not one regret mingled with all this pleasure, as far as could be judged, so unalloyed was the satisfaction of all present. Neither political, nor sectarian, nor national distinctions, were seen or felt, or thought of apparently by any one; and if I had myself a desire ungratified, it was but one, namely, a wish that all the opponents of Temperance could have been present, or near us, to witness the scene, and to receive from it the same impressions which it made on my own mind and heart, the influence of which I trust will never be lost, and the recollection of which I am sure I shall carry with me to the last hour of my life.

As an appropriate appendix to this brief record of the meeting itself, I subjoin the comprehensive and valuable Report of the Legislature of Kentucky,

in their last Session, emanating from a Committee of both Houses, and passed by an unanimous vote. Its perusal will be acceptable to thousands in England, and not without its utility, I hope, to the members of the British Legislature, who may see in that of Kentucky, an example worthy of their imitation. It is this—

"The Committee on Religion, to whom was referred the petitions of a great number of the citizens of Kentucky, praying a repeal of the laws authorizing the sale of spirituous liquors, have had the same under consideration, and beg leave to make the following report—

"The petitioners, without exception, declare, that they look upon the retailing of spirituous liquors as a great evil, and, in terms respectful to the Legislature and creditable to themselves, ask that all laws authorizing a license to retail spirits, shall be repealed, or so modified as to suppress intemperance. From a review of the whole subject, connected with past experience, the Committee are of opinion, that the laws heretofore enacted, authorizing the sale of alcoholic liquors, has by no means prevented or suppressed the crime of intemperance; on the contrary, it has greatly increased it; and in support of this opinion, thus honestly given, and candidly avowed, they beg leave to submit the following reasons:

"As the general prosperity of any people requires the concentration of individual happiness, it is the duty of the State so to act as to promote that object, without a violation of the absolute rights retained, and the relative rights acquired; and as the possession of those rights are best acquired by the protection and power of the State, it is also the duty of the State so to regulate and restrain their enjoyment, as to preserve the general welfare. In every well-ordered government, there are three grand requisites supposed to centre and unite:—wisdom, to discern the real interest of the community; goodness, to pursue that interest; and power, to carry that knowledge and intention into execution. By the exercise of these attributes, all acts against good morals should be prohibited and punished; among which may be enumerated Incest, Polygamy, Gambling, Adultery, Fornication, and Intoxi-

cation; also all acts impairing the public health, such as selling unwholesome Food, retailing Poison, creating Nuisances, and other such offences, which might be enumerated, and, in the more absolute exercise of the same requisites, all acts contrary to the safety and security of the people are prohibited and punished—such, for instance, as Murder, Rape, Assaults, and Batteries, and also all acts violating the possession and enjoyment of property—such as Arson, Burglary, Robbery, Larceny, &c.

"Now, if the prohibition and punishment of any or all of the foregoing offences is sustained and justified, because the commission of any or all of them might either corrupt the morals, or endanger the life, liberty, health, or prosperity, of the citizen or community, why, your Committee would ask, has not the State the same power to prohibit and punish the vending of spirituous liquors, if, directly or indirectly, the effect be either to corrupt the morals, or endanger the life and security of the citizen, or to violate the enjoyment of his property, or to disturb the good order and peace of society? If, for example, the powerful and almost prevalent disposition to gamble is prohibited, because of its immorality and tendency to loss of time and property, why shall not the vending of spirituous liquors, the excessive use of which not only tends to demoralize and destroy the community, but leads to the inevitable destruction of property, be also prohibited?

"Again; if the power of the State can provide for the preservation of the public health, by inhibiting the sale of poisons and the erection of nuisances, why cannot the same power inhibit the excessive use of spirituous liquors—a liquid poison in its nature, and the vending of which, under the license laws, most assuredly constitutes a public nuisance? It has long been settled by the concurrent testimony of the most distinguished Physicians, that alcohol is a rank and deadly poison—that in its effects, it resembles arsenic, and, though slow in its operation, it is not less certain and destructive in its results—it is infinitely more so. The inevitable tendency of its familiar and common use, is the paralyzation of the health; the destruction of the human constitution; the prostration of morals; the accumulation of crime; the augmentation of the sum total of human wretchedness and misery; the derangement and stupefaction of the intellect; the

oblivion of every social and religious obligation; the extinction of the love of honour in the human breast; and the annihilation of every high and holy feeling in the soul, which elevates man above the beasts that perish, and allies him to God.

"Who, then, is not ready to exclaim that the mere use of this poison is a crime—a crime, however, which sinks into insignificance when compared with that of vending it for the destruction of others—a crime, which is innocence itself, when contrasted with that of creating and pouring upon mankind this destroying stream of natural and moral death, this cataract of liquid fire, to blast the rising glories of our country, and desolate the land. Time was, when these results were unthought of or unknown, when the vending of this now well-known cause of disease and death, of crime and pollution, was either sustained by the voice of public opinion, or indulged without reprobation; but light has come upon us, and in that light a new law hath revealed itself; it is founded in moral justice, and is eternal; it is no longer unpublished or unknown to the world; it has been written, as it were, by the finger of God; all have read it, and ought immediately to obey it; it forbids man, under the penalty of its malediction, to deal in this poison; it forbids him to scatter it like firebrands, arrows, and death, among the human family; no one can longer plead ignorance of its mandate, or of its penalties; no one can longer deny, that from the sale of this destructive fluid, flows a train of evils, which embody every variety of human crime, and human misery; which converts the blessings of heaven into curses, and those of life into the tortures of disease, and the madness of despair.

"But for this agency, all those vast and complicated evils would cease to exist. The individual, therefore, who trafficks in this poison, knowing the wide-spread ruin which results from his agency, is, in the eye of heaven, responsible for all, and merits the reprobation of his country. Where, in the eye of Eternal Justice, is the difference between him who strikes the blow of death, and him who knowingly maddens the brain, and tempts and fires the soul, to strike it? Where is the difference between him who, by the sale of this subtle poison, causes four-fifths of the pauperism, crime, sickness, insanity, and death, which afflict the world, and him who does it by means of other poisons? What

matters it to the widowed wife and wretched orphan, whether you consign the husband and father to a premature grave, by the midnight dagger, or by the lingering tortures of the drunkard's death? The difference is this, the enormity of guilt rests with heavier weight upon the head of the death-dealing vender. In the first case, the destroyer inflicts upon the suffering survivor, a bereavement unembittered with shame, and unstained by dishonour; while the latter superadds to the crime of murder, the destitution and loneliness of orphanage and widowhood, the wretched inheritance of poverty and disgrace. We repeat, therefore, that it is now too late to deny either the criminality of the traffic, or the magnitude of the evils which result from it."

(Signed) "CYRUS WINGATE,
"Chairman of the Senate Committee.
"JAMES HINES,
"Chairman of the House of Representatives' Committee."

Where such opinions as these are boldly proclaimed by the unanimous voice of a joint Committee of two branches of the Legislature, the period cannot be very remote when their influence will be felt, not only in legislative action, but in the practices and habits of the community; and if the general Legislature of the American Congress, and that of the British Parliament, could but be awakened to the same clear perceptions of the evil of Intemperance as are here so truly and forcibly described by the Legislative Committee of Kentucky, the benefit of their joint influence on the world would be incalculable.

END OF VOL. II.

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